

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

MARCH 1953

VOLUME XLII, NO. 3

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PUBLISHED BY THE  
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

# The National Municipal Review

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# NEWS for League Members

## Winning Cities Look to Future

"We must carry on" was the rallying cry of the eleven All-America cities of 1952, which held ceremonies during the last several weeks to receive the award certificates from representatives of the National Municipal League.

The same "intelligent, purposeful citizen action" which won national acclaim for the citizens of these communities will be sustained, it was indicated by those who accepted the citations. All saw the need for further citizen action to solidify their gains. Most newspaper editorials emphasized the need for continuing interest in good government to offset the inevitable let-down from the excitement of winning.

Elaborate planning marked the various ceremonies. Civic organizations, public officials and employees, merchants, school children, churches—all cooperated to make the event a memorable one in each community.

Following are reports from some of the winning cities:

**NEWBURGH, NEW YORK:** The proud citizens of this Hudson River community went "all out" to celebrate.

Crowds lined the streets to see "Operation Cooperation," a colorful parade of public officials, all city employees, four bands and 65 vehicles of seven city departments. Huge pylons announcing the award were placed at the main highway entrances to the city. A banner proclaiming the news was stretched across City Hall. Milk bottle collars, auto windshield stickers and parking meter cards told the story, too, as did a special eight-page supplement of *The Newburgh News*, made possible by 883 inches of congratulatory ads placed by local merchants. A song about their city was composed by two citizens and a contest was held to design an appropriate All-America City emblem.

The largest crowd, 404, ever to attend a dinner in the Hotel Newburgh heard Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's executive committee, present the award in behalf of the League and *Look* magazine, co-sponsor, represented by William Arthur, assistant managing editor. Mr. Childs said achievements like those in New-

(Continued on next page)

Mayor Herbert A. Warden, right, of Newburgh, New York, receives the All-America citation from Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee. Seated at Mr. Childs' right is Edward G. O'Neill, president, Newburgh Chamber of Commerce, who was spokesman for the city at the jury hearing during the National Conference on Government in San Antonio.







John Nuveen, League regional vice president, third from right, presents award to Orville Kocour, of the City Manager Advocates of Brookfield, Illinois. Left to right, others are Village President Dan Kulie, State Representative Arthur W. Sprague, State Representative Bernice T. Van der Vries and Senator Everett M. Dirksen.

(Continued from previous page)

burgh are almost unheard of in most parts of the world today. "Americans rarely realize that the free activity of free citizens as a corrective influence on government and as a supplement to it is almost unique among the nations," he declared.

The admiring neighborhood municipalities of Beacon, Walden and West Newburgh sent congratulatory telegrams, as did Governor Thomas E. Dewey and Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore. Said the Governor: "We in the state government share the pride of the citizens of Newburgh in their city administration for the signal distinction it has earned. I hope your citizens' achievement in the field of governmental efficiency and services will continue and that other cities in our state will profit by your inspiring example."

**BROOKFIELD, ILLINOIS:** "On the municipal front you find the laboratory of good government. It isn't in Washington. I'd rather know what they're doing in a grocery store in Brookfield over a cracker barrel than I

would in some high councils, because the heart speaks and the mind speaks there. It's in those laboratories that you find the answers for these challenges today."

This is what Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois said as he paid tribute to the "undramatic application of hard work" by the citizens of Brookfield to overcome "municipal illiteracy." He spoke at ceremonies in the Riverside-Brookfield High School where John Nuveen of Chicago, regional vice president of the League, presented an All-America Cities certificate before hundreds of proud citizens.

Cars and storefronts abounded with stickers proclaiming "All-America City for 1952—For Citizen Action." A twelve-page booklet telling the "Brookfield Story" was prepared and distributed to residents. The newspapers in nearby Chicago, as well as in Brookfield, reported the award with news stories, editorials and pictures. The Illinois House of Representatives passed a resolution congratulating Brookfield and

(Continued on page 159)

# National Municipal Review

Volume XLII, No. 3

Total Number 430

Published monthly except August  
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals*,  
*International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1953 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50;  
single copies 50 cents.



### **An Office Seeking a Man**

**I**N MOST communities it is difficult to persuade the most competent people to come forth as candidates for public office.

A healthy tradition of unselfish public service is absent. Those for whom the people have an opportunity to vote are all too often politically ambitious self-seekers or are brought forward by "kingmakers" who hope to be the power behind the throne.

Radio Station WNBC in New York is performing an especially significant public service, therefore, in cooperating with the Citizens Union of the City of New York to launch a program to search for a candidate for mayor. Each Sunday afternoon a person who has been mentioned as a possible candidate is interviewed by a panel of political reporters and writers as well as by civic and labor leaders.

The program, called "Citizens Union Searchlight," will focus New York's public opinion on issues and personalities and, at long last, give New Yorkers an opportunity to measure the qualifications of potential

candidates before they are suddenly confronted by several aspirants hand-picked behind the scenes by no one knows just what standards.

Four years ago, for example, when Vincent R. Impellitteri insisted on running as an "independent," the two major parties were so worried by the so-called "Italian vote" that their chief consideration seemed to be to find possible opponents with Italian names and ancestries.

The ensuing scramble to "balance" the remainders of the party tickets almost solely on the basis of variety of ancestral background was a disgraceful performance, especially since it was by the very politicians who somewhat earlier had slaughtered the proportional representation method of voting with the spurious claim that it encouraged racial voting.

Everything that will help voters to rise above such unworthy considerations is all to the good. WNBC and the Citizens Union are, with this program, striking a solid blow for self-government that might well be followed in all our cities.

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### **Leading the Loyal Opposition**

**O**UR election system is inherently wasteful of political talent. Two men run for governor or president. One is elected; the other, who may have won almost as many votes, is defeated. Typically, the one who is elected is plunged into the toils of office while the other enjoys a vaca-

tion and drops back into the relative obscurity of private life.

The defeated candidate is by courtesy recognized as titular head of his party but actual party leadership is hard for a private citizen to sustain in competition with party representatives on the firing line in the state

legislature or the Congress. Thus, the cohesion and discipline developed during the campaign are soon dissipated with the result that the party in power is faced not by a loyal or responsible opposition but by at least as many oppositions as there are rival leaders in the minority. Weakness in the minority tends to encourage disunity and irresponsibility among the representatives of the party in power so that the most effective opposition to the administration often comes from legislators bearing its own party label.

The failure to develop responsible party leadership in American legislatures has contributed to a dangerous decline in the esteem in which they are held and shunted more and more of the burden of policy leadership to the executive. This helps pressure groups make a field day of the legislative session and makes it difficult for the voters to place responsibility.

Nobody wants political parties in our free society to ape totalitarian parties in enforcing dull uniformity or iron discipline. Nevertheless, the party system would serve the country better if both majority and minority parties could develop the kind of visible, responsible legislative leadership that would give the voters clearer guidance as to the true nature of the alternatives they face when they go to the polls.

State Senator Richard L. Neuberger has come up with a proposed amendment to the Oregon constitution designed at once to make more efficient use of political talent and to

provide the minority party with more effective legislative leadership by giving a seat in the State Senate to the defeated candidate for governor.<sup>1</sup> Senator Neuberger hopes that if this experiment is tried and found good in a single state it will be copied not only in other states but also at the national capitol, thus affording the defeated candidate for president official status and a forum in which he might make good on his title to continuing leadership. In thus giving constitutional recognition to the function of the minority and vesting it with more dignity and more effective leadership, a state or the nation would put the majority more clearly on its mettle.

There are obvious "practical" hurdles to be overcome in obtaining acceptance for such an innovation and it is not to be supposed that every defeated candidate would be the ideal minority leader. However, the fact that, win or lose, the party's top candidate would surely have an important role to play should have a good effect on the choice of candidates. In any event, as James Bryce pointed out long ago, one of the principal values in our system of separate states is the fact that one state can try out ideas like this without involving the whole country. The need for more responsible parties is great enough to challenge the states to some bold political invention and experimentation.

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<sup>1</sup>See page 139, this issue, "Senate Seats for Defeated Executive Candidates?" and Senator Neuberger's article in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 18, 1953.



# New Cure for Growing Pains

*St. Louis and St. Louis County, long suffering with their metropolitan problem, may try functional consolidation.*

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN\*

ST. Louis is making another attempt to solve its metropolitan problem. Two different joint St. Louis-St. Louis County charter commissions are at work trying to devise ways and means of heading off the creeping paralysis of suburbanitis. One commission is preparing a charter for a joint sewer agency and the other is tackling the transit problem.

It was more than a hundred years ago that St. Louis had its first taste of intergovernmental jealousies. At that time St. Louis was an incorporated municipality in St. Louis County. In the early 1840s some of the suburbanites were unhappy with their lot as part of the same county with St. Louis City. The 1843 state legislature provided for an election in the county outside St. Louis to ascertain if the rural area wanted to separate from the city. The proposition was defeated.

Soon after the Civil War, a discontent with the system then prevailing arose in St. Louis City, which felt it was being unfairly taxed by the county for services rendered primarily to the rural areas. St. Louis also rebelled against the stranglehold which the legislature seemed to have over its affairs. The 1875 state constitutional convention offered St.

Louis an opportunity to attack both these situations, and its delegation to the convention set about the task with determination.

The rebellion against state domination resulted in the inclusion in the constitution of the first municipal home rule provision to be written into any state constitution. St. Louis was given authority to adopt a charter for its own government.

Rebellion against the county government resulted in a constitutional provision for a charter commission to prepare a scheme of separation of the city and county. The commission prepared such a scheme and it was adopted by the voters. The area of the city was more than doubled. The boundary was drawn to include all the nearby built-up areas and a substantial amount of the surrounding farm land. It was hailed as the solution of St. Louis' boundary troubles for all time. The new city became both a city and a county and the remaining part of the county, with less than 30,000 people and three small incorporated cities, became St. Louis County.

By the time people were singing "Meet Me in St. Louis, Louie," at the 1904 World's Fair, the 1875-size shoe was already beginning to pinch. Forest Park, in which the fair was held, had been almost a wilderness in 1875 but was now surrounded by developed areas.

The population of St. Louis County increased from 50,040 to 100,739 in

\*Dr. Sparlin, director of the Cleveland Citizens League and Bureau of Governmental Research, was until early this year, assistant director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute. Dr. Sparlin has contributed numerous articles to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.



the twenty years from 1900 to 1920 and the proportion of the population classified as urban increased from 5.6 per cent in 1900 to 30.9 per cent in 1920. St. Louis City went from the fourth largest city in the country in 1900 to the sixth largest in 1920.

### Growing Pains

Metropolitan pains showed up in devious ways. Communities in St. Louis County began dumping sewage in streams that ran through St. Louis. Street-car lines were extended far out into St. Louis County, making transportation a common problem. Industries sprang up just outside the city boundary to "escape" city taxes. A private water company was formed to supply the county communities, and its facilities partially duplicated those of the St. Louis City system. County residents used St. Louis' art museum, parks, streets, swimming pools and other public facilities without paying taxes necessary to support them. Most important of all, a large proportion of the intelligensia of the community moved to the county and turned provincial. They were no longer available to serve on important civic committees and to assume leadership in the development of the metropolitan area.

The first attempt to alleviate the situation was made in the state constitutional convention of 1922-23. This convention prepared 21 amendments and submitted them separately at a special election February 26, 1924. One revised the entire article of the constitution relating to local government. One of its sections would have authorized a charter commission to draw up a scheme of consolidation for St. Louis and St. Louis

County. The amendment was defeated, however.

A new proposed amendment to the state constitution was drafted and placed on the ballot by initiative at the November 1924 election. It was adopted by the voters. This amendment authorized establishment of a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a plan for integration of the two areas. It specified that the charter commission could propose one of three plans: (1) consolidation of the city and county under the city government; (2) extend the county boundaries to include the city, with the city becoming an incorporated city in the county and having the same power to annex as other cities; or (3) retaining the separate status of the two but moving the boundary of St. Louis to bring the built-up parts of the county into the city.

A joint city-county charter commission was established in 1925 and sat until June 1926. It prepared a charter which embodied the first option given in the constitution in which the city and county were consolidated under the city government. The charter was submitted to a vote of the city and county separately at a special election on October 26, 1926. It received a seven-to-one favorable vote in the city but a two-to-one unfavorable vote in the county. If the vote of the two had been added, the charter would have been adopted by a two-to-one vote. As the constitutional amendment required a favorable majority in the two areas separately, however, the charter was defeated.

During the 1920s, the population of St. Louis County increased 110

per cent. The problems of metropolitan government intensified in about the same proportion.

Another big push was made at the fall election of 1930. This time a constitutional amendment was submitted which would have authorized establishment of a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a federal plan of government. All the existing political subdivisions would have continued but a Greater City of St. Louis would have been created with power over certain major functions such as planning, through highways, sewers and water supply. The amendment was defeated.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Constitution Convention Acts**

During the 1930s the population of St. Louis County increased 29.6 per cent while the population of St. Louis decreased 0.7 per cent. St. Louis had fallen from the fourth largest city in 1900 to eighth place in 1940.

Missouri held a constitutional convention in 1943-44. There was considerable agitation from St. Louis for a consolidation provision in the new constitution. The framers, however, were allergic to propositions which would alienate voters and it was certain that a city-county consolidation amendment would cost the proposed constitution votes in St. Louis County. Instead, the constitutional convention kept the old provisions intact and added one new method for cooperation between the city and county. The 1945 constitution provides that a joint charter commission may be formed by separate petitions in the city and

county. Such a charter commission is authorized to draft a charter "to establish a metropolitan district or districts for the functional administration of services common to the area included therein."

By 1950 the population of St. Louis County was 406,349. There were more than 90 incorporated cities plus a multitude of sewer districts, fire districts and other public and quasi-public agencies. Only Cook County, Illinois, had more incorporated cities.

Of all the different problems that faced the people of the metropolitan area, the sewer problem seemed to be the most acute. In early 1951, the mayor of St. Louis and the county supervisor of St. Louis County appointed a citizens committee to study ways and means of straightening out the mess. The committee held a series of eight public hearings and carefully analyzed the situation.

The committee found that: "The problem in St. Louis County is magnified by the multiplicity of separate governmental units operating sewer systems. The county has fifteen municipal sewerage systems, 21 sewer districts and 75 individual subdivision sewerage systems. These 111 public units operate 49 sewage treatment plants and, in addition to these, there are another 151 plants serving industries, schools and other institutions. A great many systems discharge untreated or only partially treated sewage into ditches and streams."

It was also found that "approximately 132,000 persons [in the county] live in areas either without sewers, or with inadequate sewers, or in sewered areas where sewage

<sup>1</sup>See "Missouri Voters Reject Metropolitan Amendment," by Martin L. Faust, the REVIEW, January 1931, pages 12-15.



disposal is inadequate. About 61,000 persons are served by septic tanks, the great majority of which do not work satisfactorily because of the clay soil found in most areas of the county.

"One of the serious effects of this multiplicity of sewage systems is the practical inability of the various levels of government to enforce existing sanitation laws and regulations. Testimony before the committee brought out the fact that many communities simply do not have the financial resources to abate unsatisfactory sanitary conditions. To attempt to correct such conditions would, in many cases, create a more unsatisfactory situation than already exists. For example, in some areas the only remedy for an overflowing septic tank would be to require the property owner to disconnect the plumbing and construct a privy."

In the city of St. Louis the committee found that there was a serious need for relief sewers. Its report pointed out that: "The development both within the city and the county has resulted in an increase of sanitary sewage flow in the River Des Peres foul water sewer [the city's main trunk sewer] and has seriously overcharged it. The overflow sewage from the foul water sewer into the open River Des Peres channel creates a menace to public health.

"Despite the fact that most eastern St. Louis County's drainage is through St. Louis City, no over-all program for the coordination of sewer facilities has ever been devised. Instead, the city and the county municipalities and sewer districts have engaged in makeshift contract

arrangements for the connection of county sanitary sewerage facilities with city sewers. This arrangement has become complicated because some of the communities wishing to connect with St. Louis sewers do not abut on St. Louis City. In such cases, the county communities through which the sewage must pass also are parties to the contract."

### Two Commissions Appointed

The citizens committee recommended formation of a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a plan for the "functional administration" of the sewers in the area. Petitions were circulated and filed in October 1952. A commission has been appointed and is now functioning. It is composed of nine residents of the county, nine residents of the city and a nineteenth member appointed by the governor from out-state Missouri. The commission has one year in which to prepare a plan and it must be submitted to a vote in the county and city within 90 days after it is completed. It must receive a majority vote in the two jurisdictions separately.

The presumption is that some type of joint agency will be proposed to take over responsibility for solving the very acute metropolitan sewage disposal problem.

The discussion of a sewer charter commission gave those elements of the community who are discontented with the transit system an idea. They decided to circulate petitions calling for a joint city-county charter commission to prepare a plan for the "functional administration" of the common service of mass transportation. Just as in most large American

cities, the problem of mass transportation has plagued the St. Louis area. The principal carrier is privately owned. It has street-car and bus lines throughout the city and a number of lines extending into the county. Another privately owned system serves a substantial part of the county. As no prior study was made of the transit situation, it is impossible to outline the transit problem with definiteness.

Because of the almost universal unpopularity of transit systems—both public and private—sufficient signatures were quickly secured on the petitions calling for a joint city-county charter commission. These petitions were filed about the same time the sewer petitions were filed and the transit charter commission of nine residents of the county, nine residents of the city and one appointee of the governor were appointed about the same time. This commission too has a year to prepare a plan, which must be submitted to city and county voters separately.

The work of the two commissions is being watched with much interest. There are many skeptics in the St. Louis area. Some believe that the only solution to the metropolitan problem is through a reconsolidation of the city and county or in some type of federal system. They feel that the creation of metropolitan districts or authorities for different functions will unduly complicate the governmental structure of the community and that this solution of adding more layers of government on top of those already existing is worse for the patient than the original disease. They point to the existence of two

charter commissions meeting simultaneously, but separately, each devoted to a different single problem, as evidence that the method will complicate the government of the area. Will we have another charter commission for water supply, another for airports, another for parks, etc.?

#### Functional Consolidation Best?

On the other hand, the proponents point out that separation and consolidation have been kicked around for more than a century, that both a consolidation and a federal plan have been submitted to the voters in the last 25 years and soundly defeated, and that all the evidence indicates any new "over-all" solution will be rejected, making efforts in that direction somewhat discouraging. The proponents also point to Dr. Arthur W. Bromage's conclusion that: "It is clear that our most significant trend to date in integrating public administration in metropolitan areas has been the special district device. Although this adds still another unit to the agglomeration of local units in an area, it is one practical way of achieving metropolitan treatment of one or more functions."<sup>2</sup>

Finally, the proponents point to the principal conclusion of the joint citizens committee on sewers that: "There is at present a spirit of co-operation between the city and the county and a desire to solve the sewer problem, which indicate that the voters of both areas will accept and approve a reasonable plan which may be developed by a joint charter commission."

<sup>2</sup>See *Introduction to Municipal Government and Administration*, by Arthur W. Bromage. Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1950, page 125.



# Why State Cost Has Gone Up

*Inflation, greater demands for services, assistance to local governments cited as reasons for rise in spending.*

By HOWARD D. HAMILTON\*

THE cost of Michigan state government is steadily increasing for the same reasons that costs are increasing in the other 47 state governments and in nearly every government of the world. There are three major reasons: inflation, state assistance to local governments, and expansion of government services.

The cost of living has practically doubled since 1940. The dollar today has only 52 per cent as much purchasing power as in 1940. Hence, a large part of the increase in the cost of state government since 1940 is merely an adjustment to the changing price level. Increased appropriations may represent no increase at all in real expenditures. In fact, when allowance is made for inflation, some of the functions of Michigan state government cost less today than in 1940.

To understand the causes of increased government expenditures we must look for the reasons for the expansion of government services. This is a nation-wide, even world-wide, trend and a long term trend. Some causes apply to expansion of services of all governments, some apply to state governments and some

are peculiar to Michigan state government.

The ultimate causes are rooted in the changing character of our economy and society, in the transition from a simple rural society to a highly complex industrial and urban society marked by impressive levels of national income, as shown by Table I.

TABLE I

	<i>National Income (billion dollars)</i>			
	1930	1940	1950	1951
Compensation of Employees	\$46	\$52	\$153	\$179
Corporate Profits	7	9	35	42
All Other Income	22	30	51	57
Total	\$75	\$81	\$239	\$278

Government is the framework which organizes, orders and binds together all society. In the last analysis the expansion of government is a product of the industrial revolution which began with Watt's steam engine and has been accelerating ever since. Every new invention, every change in social patterns, every increase in economic demands, adds to the responsibilities of government.

Some salient aspects of modern life which manifestly impose tremendous and ever mounting responsibilities on government are:

1. Modern transportation and communication systems, which entail not only government supervision but also tremendous outlays for highways, streets and traffic control.

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2. Urbanization with its myriad problems of housing, sanitation, utilities, land-use, traffic, recreation and public safety.

3. The nation-wide and world-wide commercial network, which requires government supervision and assistance at every link.

4. The factory system with its attendant social strata and problems of industrial relations.

5. Advanced culture and technology, which require government research institutions, universities and experiment stations, and ever greater amounts of education, making the latter the biggest function of both state and local government.

6. An economy of scarcity which requires government to husband resources by checking exploitation, managing public lands, reforestation, soil districts and agricultural extension.

7. Economic insecurity, which has necessitated public welfare programs, social insurance, public works and cyclical control policies.

8. International tension and war which today consume 85 per cent of the budget of our national government and entail outlays by the state for civil defense, national guard and veterans services.

#### Demands on State

Concurrently with the foregoing social and economic developments have occurred political and philosophical changes which have enhanced the demand for public services including: the advance of political democracy; increased influence of labor; demands for higher standards of living—better housing, economic security, employment services, better education, more recreational facilities, etc.; a changing attitude toward the role of government. These political and philosophical changes have produced a popular demand for the

“positive” or “social service” state to keep pace with standards and modes of living reflected in a rising national income which has tripled in three decades.

In addition to the foregoing general causes, these factors have contributed to the expansion of Michigan state services and costs:

1. Rapid increase in population and urbanization,

2. Tremendous expansion in state aid to local governments,

3. Backlog of institutional and highway construction,

4. Demand of Michigan citizens for high standards of service.

As Table II shows, Michigan's population has tripled since 1900, doubled since 1920, increased 21 per cent between 1940 and 1950 and continues to grow at a rate of 100,000 a year. Such rapid growth necessitates rapid expansion of community services. The recent state survey of public school facilities indicates that in school construction we are running behind the stork.

TABLE II

<i>Year</i>	<i>Michigan Population</i>
1900 .....	2,420,982
1920 .....	3,668,412
1940 .....	5,256,106
1950 .....	6,371,766
1952 est .....	6,665,000
1960 est. ....	7,353,000

Also Michigan is a highly urban state; 71 per cent of its people reside in urban communities as compared to a national average of 60 per cent and Detroit is one of the five U. S. cities of more than a million population. City life may be attractive but it is also expensive.



For example, construction of the expressways in Detroit is costing Michigan \$8,000,000 per mile!

Total "local benefits" payments—grants, shared taxes and welfare grants—in Michigan rose from \$110,000,000 in 1940 to \$394,000,000 in 1952, nearly quadrupled. Since 1947 local benefits have constituted 60 per cent of all state operating expenditures and have exceeded the aggregate taxes of all the local governments, including school districts.

The foremost factor in the phenomenal growth of state assistance to local units was the "sales tax diversion" amendment to the constitution in 1946. That popularly initiated measure channeled essentially 78 per cent of the revenue of the state's three-cent sales tax to school districts, cities, villages and townships. The sales tax is—or was—the cornerstone of the state revenue structure, yielding more than all other state taxes combined.

Viewed functionally, 83 per cent of state assistance goes for education, welfare and highways, three areas in which public demand for governmental service has centered. State assistance pays 60 per cent of the operating costs of the public schools, 94 per cent of public welfare costs and about 75 per cent of the costs of local streets and roads. Most of the township governments operate exclusively on state sales tax proceeds, levying not a penny of property tax.

Everyone knows that the cessation of highway construction during World War II created a great backlog and that vehicle traffic, particularly heavy vehicles, continues to rise. In the four fiscal years 1948 through 1951

Michigan expended \$155,500,000 for state trunkline construction. In 1952 approximately \$39,000,000 is being spent, and the end is hardly in sight.

What is less well known is that simultaneously the state has had a backlog of institutional construction. A recent survey of Michigan state institutions reports that 37 per cent of the buildings (in terms of cubic feet) were built prior to 1900. Thirty-two per cent between 1900 and 1925 and only 31 per cent since 1925. As the survey correctly observed: "These statistics indicate that a substantial portion of the buildings at these institutions are in an age group where repair and maintenance costs are high and that in the foreseeable future a substantial portion of buildings at these institutions will require replacement."<sup>1</sup>

In an effort to remedy the situation the state is engaged in an extensive program. A tabulation in August 1951 showed 89 projects approved by the legislature and under way, costing an estimated \$86,000,000 of which \$56,000,000 had been appropriated at that date.<sup>2</sup> This recent survey of institutional buildings indicates that the backlog has not been eliminated and much remains to be done.

#### New State Services

The demand of Michigan citizens for high levels and standards of government services is reflected in additional state services and in enrichment of existing functions. In response to new problems, some new

<sup>1</sup>*Institutional Management*, Staff Memorandum to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization, April 1952, page 2.

<sup>2</sup>Building Division, Department of Administration, State of Michigan.

services are authorized at each session of the legislature. The following is a list of some 35 major services initiated within the past fifteen years, and which together comprise 25 or 30 per cent of state government activity. This list includes only new state-administered services and not those new local services financed by state grants.

#### Area of Industrial Relations:

- Public employment offices (1937)
- Unemployment compensation (1937)
- Labor mediation (1939)

#### Area of Planning and Service to Industry:

- Michigan Planning Commission (1935, since 1947 Economic Development Commission)

#### Area of Welfare:

- Categorical welfare programs (1937): aid to blind, dependent children, aged, disabled

#### Area of Health and Mental Hygiene:

- Child guidance clinics (1940)
- Adult guidance clinics (1951)
- Hospital survey and construction program (1947)
- Heart disease research (1949)
- Cancer control (1948)
- Venereal disease control (c. 1940)
- Water pollution control (1949)
- Industrial hygiene (c. 1940)
- Alcoholism—research and treatment (1951)
- Neuropsychiatric Institute (1937)
- Veterans Readjustment Center (1945)

#### Area of Transportation:

- Aeronautics regulation and promotion (1945)
- Airport construction program (1945)
- Waterways development (1947)

#### Area of Public Safety:

- State Troops (1942)
- Civil defense (1943)
- Conservation-Corrections Camps (1950)

#### Area of Agriculture and Conservation:

- Wildlife restoration (1938)
- Fish restoration and management (1951)
- Agricultural marketing analysis and research (1947)
- Cooperative woodland management (1937)
- Soil conservation districts (1937)
- Recreation areas (c. 1940)

#### Area of Education:

- Ferris Institute, acquisition (1950)
- Michigan College of Mining and Technology — Sault Ste. Marie Branch (1947)
- Survey of public school facilities (1950)
- Veterans Vocational School (1944)

Concurrently, the various social and economic factors enumerated above have necessitated expansion and enrichment of the older functions, particularly in health, mental hygiene, highways, education and conservation.

In 1939 there were 22,000 beds in overcrowded mental hospitals and waiting lists of committed patients. During the next twelve years newly constructed facilities barely managed to keep pace with population growth, so that in 1951 there were 29,000 beds in overcrowded hospitals and still an indeterminable waiting list. Viewed from a different angle, in 1940 the operating expenditure for mental hygiene was \$7,000,000; in 1953 it will be \$38,000,000, and yet the hospitals fall short of the standards of the American Psychiatric Association. During this period the hospital employee work-week was reduced from an official 48 hours to 40 hours.

The expansion in the area of highways has been noted above. Higher education has experienced a com-



parable expansion and enrichment. In 1940 the total enrollment in state universities and colleges was 27,000; in 1950, 49,000. In 1940 the operating appropriations totaled \$8,600,000; in 1953, \$39,000,000. And it should be noted that, although enrollments are now static, authorities are agreed that there will be another big spurt by 1960.

### What Is the Cost?

What is the actual cost? What has been the increase? How does Michigan compare with other states? The best yardsticks of government costs are per capita expenditures and the ratio of government expenditures to personal income payments.<sup>3</sup>

Table III shows comparisons of

<sup>3</sup>As computed by the Department of Commerce and published annually in the August issue of *Survey of Current Business*.

per capita state expenditures for fiscal year 1951, the most recent year of complete data.<sup>4</sup>

These data clearly show that Michigan expenditures are somewhat above the national average, but far from the top, ranking eighteenth in 1951 (Michigan ranked higher in earlier years). In respect to local benefit expenditures Michigan is way above the average, exceeded by only three states. But in expenditures for state administration, i.e., "state purposes," Michigan is below the average, ranking 35th.

The increase in Michigan state government expenditures since 1940 is shown in Table IV.

<sup>4</sup>Data from U. S. Census Bureau. "General expenditures" include colleges and universities and most state enterprises; exclude only liquor stores, insurance trust and debt retirement.

TABLE III

	General Expenditures			Rank of State
48-state average	\$86.56			
Michigan	98.80			18
	Aid to Local Government	+ Direct State Welfare Expenditures	= Local Benefits Expenditures	Rank of State
48-state average	\$31.25	\$ 9.41	\$40.66	
Michigan	46.86	13.86	60.72	4
	State Purposes Expenditures			Rank of State
48-state average	\$45.90			
Michigan	38.08			35

TABLE IV

Fiscal Year	Total Operating Expenditures	Expenditures Per Capita	
		Unadjusted Dollars	In Constant Dollars (1935 — 39 = 100%)
1940	\$185,000,000	\$35	\$35
1952	656,000,000	98	52

The increase has been substantial, but not nearly as much as a mere comparison of gross total expenditures suggests, because of the factors of inflation and population increase. When both these factors are considered, per capita expenditures in "constant" dollars increased from \$35 to \$52 in the interval, slightly less than 50 per cent. An examination of other states shows that their expenditures increased by the same amount. But while expenditures have increased, both in total and per capita, so has the income of Michigan people. One of the basic reasons why Michigan people demand more government services is because they have more money and elect to consume more government service. Also Michigan people have an income level above the national average.

Table V compares the relative burden of Michigan state government with the average of all states in fiscal year 1951.

This calculation shows that Michigan expenditures were 5.7 per cent of the personal income of its citizens, only slightly more than the 48-state average of 5.5 per cent, despite

Michigan's extraordinary local benefits expenditures.

Comparison of the expenditures of various state governments is becoming less significant and reliable, because of the growth of state aid and shifts in functions. A more significant measure of the cost of government is the combined state and local cost. Interstate comparisons of the combined state-local costs are difficult, because of incomplete and incomparable data. However, valid intra-state comparisons may be made.

For Michigan, state and local tax collections are the best available indices.

Table VI indicates that since 1940 the income of Michigan citizens has grown more rapidly than the cost of state and local government, despite extensions and enrichment of services, and the burden of state and local government was substantially less in 1952 than in 1940.

#### Michigan's Financial Crisis

As suggested in the opening paragraph, developments in other states have been similar to those in Michigan. For example, in California,

(Continued on page 141)

TABLE V

	<i>Per Capita Expenditures</i>	<i>Per Capita Personal Income</i>	<i>Percent State Expenditure of Personal Income</i>
48-state average	\$86.56	\$1,584	5.5
Michigan	98.80	1,734	5.7

TABLE VI  
*Michigan Taxes and Personal Income*  
(millions)

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>State Taxes</i>	<i>Local Taxes</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Personal Income</i>	<i>Percent Taxes of Income</i>
1940	\$140.8	\$167.3	\$308.1	\$3,239.5	9.5
1952	484.2	375.3	859.5	11,776.0	7.3



# Where Everyone Can See

*Officials of new Philadelphia regime work in spotlight, with partnership between the citizen and his government.*

By WAYNE B. BARR\*

WHEN Philadelphia's municipal operations under its new charter emerged from behind the screen of disinterest and confusion which had obscured them for so long, the rôle of city information and public relations services also was spotlighted. This was no accident; no expose by alert reporters. It was planned that way, as part of the new administration's theory that the citizen is entitled to know just how his municipal government is operating.

In his inaugural address, in January 1952, Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., declared:

"We must utilize the modern tools of communication—radio, press and television. This administration, centering its activities largely through the mayor and his city representative, must bring its program to the people and in turn receive from the people their wishes and desires for government action.

"Policy decisions must be tentative until they have met the test of public debate. I promise you an end to government from smoke-filled rooms. In our public lives we must

submit ourselves ceaselessly to your scrutiny and criticism. You must know what we propose to do and why. You must tell us when you disagree and why."

Implicit in this and similar statements was the promise that machinery would be set up to develop a free, two-way flow of information between government and citizen. That machinery took the form of the Bureau of Public Information and Service, under City Representative Walter M. Phillips, and the Mayor's Office for Information and Complaints. The bureau was charged with the responsibility of disseminating information; the Office for Information and Complaints was designed to give the citizen a chance to talk back.

Harold F. Schneidman, chief of the bureau, summed up the theory behind its establishment and operations in an address to the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government at San Antonio last November 17:

"We must face the fact that public relations is not a naughty thing and that the way to gain public acceptance for this necessary technique is to bring it out into the open," he declared. "Once this is done, the next logical step is a centralized operation. Municipal public relations is necessary, but the client of that operation must not be one commissioner, one department, a city councilman or the mayor, or the city manager, and certainly never the

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political party. The client must always be the city and its inhabitants—all its inhabitants."

Schneidman pointed out that the centralized operation permits economies, encourages the employment of qualified specialists who can develop a well rounded program of professional stature, and eliminates the need for departmental publicity men disguised as "administrative assistants" or "program assistants." At the same time, he asserted, the dangers assumed to be inherent in centralization are nullified by "the anti-septic glow of daylight," and the fact that self-appointed watchdogs will be on the alert to detect any real or fancied straying from the allotted path.

#### **Town Meeting Spirit**

With a publicly announced determination to develop a public relations program which would recreate the old "town meeting" spirit through modern means of mass communication, Philadelphia set out in January 1952 to prove it could be done. The resulting program has attracted nation-wide attention and brought the city the "Silver Anvil" award of the American Public Relations Association for the best governmental public relations program in 1952.

Many of the initial steps were of the most fundamental type. To fulfill the mayor's promise of a "gold-fish bowl" policy, meetings of all boards, commissions and committees were opened to the representatives of all media of mass communication. Executive sessions have been held to a minimum, and when they have been necessary the reasons have

been spelled out carefully to the press.

The bureau tackled its routine, day-to-day task of aiding newspapers, radio and television to report fully and accurately the activities of the city government. An average of more than twenty releases a week, with over 90 per cent of the stories appearing in print, have helped achieve the objective of providing complete information on the administration's plans and operations.

Upon this framework of essential news services, the bureau has overlaid a more imaginative pattern of information activities. Radio and television programs, created and produced by the bureau, play a vital part.

"Tell It to the Mayor," a bi-weekly TV presentation, has proved the most spectacular and successful of the varied efforts in this direction. Essentially an audience participation show, it offers the average citizen an opportunity to present his complaints directly to the head of his municipal government, and to air his most cherished opinions before the eye of the television camera. Completely unrehearsed, the program deals with controversial subjects and owes much of its success to the informality and spontaneity of the give and take between mayor and citizens.

Another successful telecast, presented weekly, portrays behind-the-scenes activities of the police and fire departments. In the radio field, "Report to the People" is a weekly broadcast by the mayor, a cabinet member or a councilman, spelling out specific issues of the day, the contemplated actions of the city gov-



ernment and the effect those actions will have upon the individual citizen.

Numerous other radio and television appearances are arranged for municipal officials and employees. They include participation in panel discussions on current issues, sponsorship of civic campaigns which the city has launched or in which it is participating and the exposition of city functions.

In a fresh approach to the "City Hall tours," traditionally offered to school children and civic groups in guise of educational activity, the bureau is attempting to make these visits meaningful. The first long step in this direction was accomplished when the bureau joined with the Board of Education in sponsoring a summer workshop for principals and teachers of the city's school system. The educators participated in round-table sessions at which cabinet members discussed with them the city's problems and opportunities.

#### Reports to the People

Again venturing outside the accepted framework of municipal information service, the bureau is endeavoring to make the city's annual report something more than a reference work for students of municipal government. The basic theory is that of presenting a "running" report in progressive doses, more palatable and more easily digested than the usual bulky year-end document.

The aptly named "Report to the People" weekly radio broadcasts are employed as one element of this plan. Another approach is an outgrowth of the mayor's demand for quarterly reports from his department heads. These lengthy statements of progress,

problems and plans are summarized by the bureau's staff; and highlights of the summaries are embodied in a news release. Copies of the summaries as well as the release are distributed to the press and radio, providing not only a spot news story but also source material for many future stories.

Motion pictures planned and produced in their entirety by the bureau also fit into this program by portraying the city's physical needs and the steps taken to meet them. Thus far, four films have been prepared dealing objectively with the facilities of various city departments, and one has been produced with the frankly avowed purpose of demonstrating that a modern incinerator need not lead to the deterioration of the neighborhood in which it is located.

It should be emphasized that these films are designed to provide information, not promotion. They show, for instance, the Department of Welfare's dilapidated House of Correction, as well as its ultra-modern Youth Study Center. They reveal the Department of Recreation's ancient, collapsing swimming pools, as well as its spacious camp for underprivileged children.

In pursuing further its function of disseminating information, the bureau directly promotes civic discussion of the more important problems facing the citizen and his government. Perhaps its outstanding effort in this field to date was in connection with the proposal for the establishment of a Delaware River Port Authority to promote the development of the vital port area.

It quickly became apparent that there was virtually unanimous agreement on the desirability of the project, but almost simultaneously it became evident that the necessary federal legislation was about to be emasculated by amendments. The bureau brought all its resources into play to mobilize the force of public opinion. Vocal support of civic, labor and business organizations throughout the area was enlisted, and representatives of those groups were encouraged in the formation of a nonpartisan operating committee. Employing its public relations knowledge in the guidance of this committee the bureau armed committee members with vast quantities of background material; prepared statements for news releases and for presentation at Congressional hearings; digested pertinent legislation and opinion; rallied legislators and prominent civic figures to the cause, and in general acted as the moving force behind the successful drive to bring the essential facts of the case to the attention of Congress.

Other debates were nurtured by the bureau during the year. Some resulted in affirmation of the administration's proposals and some did not, but in each case the decision was made by the people, after full and free discussion.

#### **Educational Campaigns**

The bureau also has been called upon frequently to aid particular departments in organizing non-controversial campaigns. Full-scale publicity efforts were carried out on behalf of the Department of Health's "multi-phasic screening" project; the Department of Streets' drive against

litter in central city and shopping center districts; the nonpartisan registration effort; and the recruiting program of the personnel department, notably with regard to the employment of women traffic guards at school crossings and the Recreation Department's expansion of its summer program.

Meanwhile, the Mayor's Office for Information and Complaints was proving the most popular innovation in the city's recent history. It was launched with suitable fanfare by the bureau and promptly became the busiest office in the municipal structure.

Far more than an information booth, it provides a central point to which any Philadelphian may bring any question or complaint concerning municipal services. It is set up and staffed to provide the necessary answer or action. Complaints are recorded, then referred to the office directly concerned with the problem. The responsible official in that department replies by phone when feasible and in writing if necessary.

Meanwhile, the complaint section keeps the complainant informed as to which office is handling the matter and maintains an "action pending" file to ascertain that the required action is taken within a reasonable time. On numerous occasions, the staff goes far beyond the line of duty in fulfilling requests for information and service. An effort is made to fulfill even the most bizarre demands, and there have been many of them. The first day of operation brought about 150 visitors and 200 telephone inquiries. The volume has increased steadily and the office now handles



about 550 calls a day.

There can be no doubt that a vastly increased flow of information concerning the city government has resulted from the city's experimental program. The "goldfish bowl" policy and the routine operations of the Bureau of Public Information and Service alone would assure this. It is the fond belief of all concerned with the program that Philadelphia is the nation's most "open city" in this respect. Far too busy to keep a check on "column inches" or radio and television time, the bureau's staff is more than satisfied to see nearly 100 per cent reproduction of the releases it aims at the various media. In this connection, it may be noted that the radio "Report to the People" is the first public service program ever to be broadcast regularly by all of the city's ten radio stations.

#### Public Relations Value

These are, of course, generalities. The peculiar nature of the city's public relations effort is such that it does not, in most cases, aim at influencing the decisions of the people. Rather, the objective is to provide full and fair information and to promote discussion of the pros and cons of any specific question. The decision rests with the people.

The Office for Information and Complaints also operates largely in the realm of intangibles. While it

meets specific complaints and generates decisive action, its value from a public relations standpoint cannot be measured in terms of sidewalks repaired, vacant lots cleaned, barking dogs silenced or even the number of gamblers arrested through "tips" from indignant housewives. Its importance lies in its activity as a contact point between the city and his government; its assurance that any resident will receive a fair and impartial hearing "at the hall," and the encouragement it offers to the citizen who has lost contact with his government.

Only the passage of time will tell whether or not the entire program has fulfilled its basic task of bringing the people and their municipal government closer together. In this connection it is perhaps worthy of note that American democracy achieved its greatest growth during the period before the industrial revolution, when people were in direct contact with their local governments through their town meetings. With the rapid growth of population and industrialization, the citizens drifted out of contact with their government and, through default, left the management of municipal affairs to corrupt and self-seeking politicians.

Today in Philadelphia the attempt is being made to reverse this trend and to create a new partnership between the citizen and his government.

# News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## Trained Administrator Urged for New York City

### *Committee Calls Task of Mayor Preposterous*

**A**CTING on the report of its City Manager Study Committee, a group of outstanding citizens appointed last year<sup>1</sup> to investigate the applicability of the council-manager plan to the unusual conditions of the city of New York, the executive committee of the Citizens Union of New York has announced the conclusion that, without drastically overhauling the charter at this time, provision for an appointive general administrator can and should be made.

As to method of appointment, some of the study committee urged that this be a function of the Board of Estimate. This is New York's peculiar executive-legislative body, where the mayor, comptroller, and president of the city council, all elected on a city-wide basis, have equal voting strength, while the presidents of the five boroughs, with unequal votes totaling less than the city-wide members, make up the rest of the board. Others favored appointment of the administrator by the mayor, with special safeguards, as in the recently adopted Philadelphia charter. The executive committee adopted the latter view, with modifications. Its report says:

"A majority of the Citizens Union Executive Committee favored a solution which was first proposed in the study committee and which they hoped might combine many of the advantages of the two other plans; namely, ap-

pointment of the chief administrator by the mayor, with the advice and consent of the Board of Estimate, after a public hearing. Removal would be possible at any time in the same way, or by the board withdrawing its approval after a public hearing even without the recommendation of the mayor.

"This would maintain the mayor's importance in the picture and concentrate in him responsibility for selection of the administrator and at the same time would make the board's satisfaction with the administrator essential for his appointment or retention. It would put the board in a position to insist on higher standards if the mayor was inclined to appoint a mere stooge and would enable the board to get rid of the administrator if he was improperly influenced by the mayor or anyone else or if the mayor was lax in insisting on proper standards of performance. It would make the administrator more independent of the mayor than if he were a mere deputy and would thus make the position more attractive to a high grade man.

"All were agreed that the selection of an administrator should be made from the entire country."

As to the immediate adoption of the council-manager plan proper the report said:

"To apply this pattern in its entirety to New York City would require substitution of a single board without administrative duties for the present Board of Estimate and City Council. It would raise the question of changing to some method of assuring a less lopsided board than the present 24-1 City Council or the recent one-party Board of Estimate to assume complete responsibility for the city govern-

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 406.



ment. It would require transferring the administrative duties of the borough presidents and the comptroller to the city manager, leaving an elective or appointive comptroller with merely auditing functions.

"Such a plan might work well if adopted, particularly if available means for assuring adequate consideration of locality needs were added when the borough presidents were dropped as administrators, but a majority of the Citizens Union committees were not prepared to recommend attempting so sweeping a change at the present time.

"On the immediate desirability of one important feature of the city manager plan, however, there was virtual unanimity in both committees. That is the creation of an administrative head other than the mayor, appointed for his administrative training and ability and not chosen, as mayoralty candidates are, for ability to amass votes at the polls. . . .

#### **Mayor's Task Impossible**

"The present task of the mayor is a preposterous one. He is supposed: (1) to be the policy leader of the city, with three votes on the Board of Estimate; (2) to be the ceremonial head of the city, with frequent public appearances and private audiences unconnected with policy; and (3) to guide and control through his appointees nearly all of the far-flung city administration. Any one of these three functions could tax the full time of any official by itself. To do justice to all three is virtually impossible. The one which usually suffers most is the most exacting one, administration, for it is a lucky accident if administrative capacity is secured by election at the polls. Such accidents have not often come our way."

The study committee recommended that the administrator be authorized to appoint: (1) several assistants to serve as liaison officers between him

and groups of departments—the city having too many departments for a single administrator to supervise directly; (2) a director of personnel, to administer the merit system, with a civil service commission, appointed as now by the mayor, to make over-all rules and hear appeals; and (3) a budget director, who would work on the basis of a performance budget, with more freedom for department heads than under the present "line item" budget basis.

To put the entire plan as recommended into effect will require a charter amendment and a referendum vote of the people. A petition to initiate such an amendment could still be circulated for submission at the city election in the fall, but as stated in the report:

"A majority of the Citizens Union Executive Committee, however, believe it would be bad strategy to put the question on the ballot at the mayoralty election. They feel that every effort should be centered on electing a capable, trustworthy administration for the next four years and that a charter amendment up at the same time might divert attention from the need for a change in the personnel of the city government and get the friends of good government to arguing among themselves. It might furnish the supporters of the present city administration with a specious alibi charging the defects of the government of the city to defects in the city charter rather than to incompetence in its administration. They agree, however, that the subject is a most timely one for discussion as an issue in the campaign and hope that a reform mayor may follow through after his election with support for constructive charter revision as LaGuardia did in the revision of 1936.

"This report is submitted to all the civic forces of the city for immediate serious discussion."

### **Council Manager Plan Developments**

**Elmhurst, Illinois**, (1950 population 21,273) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 3,063 to 1,732 on February 21. It also voted to retain the present method of electing aldermen from ten wards. **Oak Lawn** (8,751), in the same state, also adopted the manager plan, by 2,111 to 758, on January 24. In the following eleven Illinois municipalities (listed in order of size) the plan becomes effective this spring; appointment of managers awaits election of city councils: **Peoria**, **Evanston**, **Oak Park**, **Rock Island**, **Bloomington**, **Elmhurst**, **Mt. Vernon**, **East Moline**, **Wood River**, **Oak Lawn** and **Savanna**.

**Greenville, North Carolina**, (16,724) adopted the council-manager plan at a recent election. It goes into effect at the next general municipal election.

In **La Mesa, California**, (10,946) the city council in January unanimously approved an ordinance establishing a council-manager plan.

**Amherst, Massachusetts**, (7,900) at its annual town meeting on February 16, adopted the council-manager plan. The new system, to go into effect in 1954, replaces the government under which the town has operated since 1775.

The citizens of **Bethany, Oklahoma**, (5,705) voted 309 to 145 on January 13 to adopt a council-manager charter. It becomes fully effective on May 4. The council will have nine members. The manager to be appointed by them is required to have had two years' experience or a college degree.

The International City Managers' Association reports that it has added **East Ann Arbor, Michigan**, (1,810) to the official list of council-manager cities. It adopted a manager ordinance in 1948.

A bill to establish the town manager plan in **Burlington, Massachusetts**,

has been introduced in the state legislature.

In **Concord, Massachusetts**, the League of Women Voters is sponsoring discussions of the town manager plan.

A town manager committee in **Provincetown, Massachusetts**, is spreading information about the town manager plan. A bill to permit such a plan in Provincetown has been passed by the lower house of the state legislature.

Another attempt is being made to obtain enabling legislation in **Pennsylvania** to permit third-class cities, 47 in number, to adopt the council-manager plan.

In **Erie, Pennsylvania**, the Erie Industrial Union Council, CIO, has appointed a committee of three to investigate the council-manager plan as proposed by others for that city.

A committee of the council in **Edenton, North Carolina**, is investigating the council-manager plan.

A bill to provide council-manager government for **Savannah, Georgia**, has been submitted to the state legislature.

In **Milledgeville, Georgia**, Mayor Harry Bone has presented a plan for council-manager government and has suggested that a charter for that purpose be acted upon before the next city election.

An active movement for the manager plan has been developing in **Steubenville, Ohio**.

In **Norwood, Ohio**, near Cincinnati, the Property Owners Association, headed by Hayden H. Sizemore, is heading a campaign for the manager plan.

The **Indiana** Senate on February 4 approved, 35 to 5, a joint resolution with bipartisan sponsorship calling for a constitutional amendment permitting cities to choose their form of government. The state Junior Chamber of Commerce is advocating passage



of such an amendment, which would permit adoption of the council-manager plan by cities of that state—one of three not yet granting that right.

In **Iron Mountain, Michigan**, a Citizens' Committee for Council-manager Government has been formed. The League of Women Voters has been conducting a program of study and education on the subject over the last two years. An election on adoption of the plan is scheduled for April 6 as a result of the filing of petitions.

The City Club of **Chicago** asks that the state legislature permit the people of that city to vote on the council-manager plan—Chicago having been specifically excluded from the general enabling act of 1951.

Elections on the question of adopting the manager plan, held in three Illinois cities, suburbs of Chicago, on January 31, resulted in defeats: **Calumet City**, 2,793 to 1,657; **Des Plaines**, 3,013 to 829; and **Northlake**, 1,008 to 508.

A proposal for adoption of the council-manager plan will be voted on in the April election in **Northbrook, Illinois**. The League of Women Voters has been sponsoring study and publicity of the subject.

The city of **Hopkins, Minnesota**, recently supplied the residents of a newly annexed area with a five-page statement describing the council-manager plan of government in that city and giving information on the various services rendered and how to learn more about them.

A seminar for city council candidates in **Tacoma, Washington**, which recently adopted the council-manager plan, included a discussion of city manager responsibilities.

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### ***Charter Change Sought in Newark, New Jersey***

Two separate moves for altering the form of government in Newark, largest

city of New Jersey, were made in the second half of January. Newark is now under the commission plan. On January 16 Commissioner Leo P. Carlin, director of public works, announced that he favors a change and the creation of a charter study commission to make a recommendation as to the best available form, under the Faulkner Act. Commissioner Meyer C. Ellenstein, director of revenue and finance and a former mayor, joined in the proposal. Mayor Ralph A. Villani and Commissioner Stephen J. Moran were non-committal, but Commissioner John B. Keenan expressed opposition. On February 5 these three voted to reject the Carlin resolution.

Anticipating the failure of the Carlin resolution, the Newark Citizens Committee, formed four years ago, organized a drive to obtain 20,000 signatures to a petition which, if successful, will place the charter commission question on the ballot at the time of the city commission election in May. Members of the charter commission would be elected at the same time and, if authorized by a majority of those voting on the question, could recommend retention or improvement of the commission plan or its replacement by either the mayor-council or the council-manager plan.

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### ***Home Rule Extension Sought in Rhode Island***

Although the home rule amendment to the Rhode Island constitution, ratified by the people in 1951, is largely self-executing, particularly as to provisions for the adoption of new charters by municipalities, legislation is still needed to enable cities and towns to obtain the full benefit of the principles laid down in the amendment and to bring the existing body of laws into harmony therewith. Governor Dennis J. Roberts has called for a grant of

home rule beyond the requirements of the amendment itself.

The State Supreme Court ruled last year that unless a city or town adopts a completely new charter it remains subject to the legislature. The governor has urged that the legislature extend the principles of home rule, at least in large part, to the other cities and towns; and to include in the laws it adopts the right of small towns to have joint facilities for health, education, public works, etc.

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### ***State Leagues Urge Home Rule***

Among state leagues of municipalities taking a vigorous stand for municipal home rule, those in Minnesota and Washington have recently urged upon their state legislatures the adoption of constitutional amendments to give a greater degree of autonomy to local governments. The Minnesota League of Municipalities seeks especially the removal from the constitution of rigid detailed rules for the presentation and adoption of home rule charters and amendments thereto, and the insertion of rigid constitutional restrictions on special legislation, together with the right of referendum on special laws. The Association of Washington Cities makes a home rule amendment the first objective in its legislative program for 1953.

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### ***Michigan Reorganization Committee Reports Progress***

The Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, appointed in 1949, has made a progress report covering 1952 and pending activities. It notes that its studies have been financed by state appropriations of only \$20,000 and private grants of \$45,000, and that not all money available has been spent. Much

service has also been donated. Loren B. Miller, of the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, has served as the committee's director of research.

During 1952 four reports and one memorandum were submitted to the committee by its research staff. They related to building engineering and management, state military establishment, state motor pool, department of aeronautics and institutional management. A report on regulatory agencies is in progress. This will bring the total number of reports to 30, plus two special memoranda. Not all reports submitted have been fully considered by the committee as yet.

The committee has submitted a number of bills to the legislature relating to various details of organization and administrative improvement; of 21 bills and resolutions introduced in 1952 nine were adopted, including one to create a joint interim committee to consider establishment of a legislative auditor. The committee is currently submitting twenty bills; topics included are creation of a joint pension board; appointment, instead of election, of the commissioner of education, while enlarging the elective state board of education; permitting the incoming governor to nominate and the controller to appoint a fiscal adviser to help prepare the budget; coordinate driver and vehicle services into one department; create a department of professional licensing to coordinate such activities; and coordinate state health agencies into one department.

The committee is also submitting various recommendations, including one that legislative rules be changed to provide joint Senate and House committee hearings on all budget matters, to conserve time; and that consideration be given to removal of restrictions on the general fund and reduction of the number of special funds.



### ***Colorado State Organization Studied***

A twelve-member committee on reorganization of the state government has been established in Colorado, as urged by Governor Thornton in his campaign for re-election and in his message to the legislature on January 13. He has appointed Robert L. Stearns, retiring president of the University of Colorado, to head the committee, which is made up equally of Republicans and Democrats. It includes four state senators, four representatives and four other citizens.

Governor Thornton said that although previous reports recommending changes in the organization of the state's government had been neglected, the work of the new committee would not go to waste.

He suggested that the committee might appoint advisory subcommittees of business, labor, educational, agricultural and professional representatives.

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### ***Virginia Redistricts for State Legislature***

At a special session early in December 1952, the Virginia legislature accomplished a redistricting of the state for both the Senate and the House of Delegates. Large existing disparities in the sizes of districts were reduced—leaving many wide differences, however.

The 1950 Virginia legislature established a Commission on Redistricting which made a study of reapportionment problems as to the U. S. House of Representatives and the two houses of the state legislature. It reported to Governor John S. Battle and the legislature on November 2, 1951, with proposed plans of redistricting for each of the three bodies.

The plans adopted last December by the legislature for its redistricting represent a modification of the com-

mission's proposals, and involve somewhat greater differences between districts.

For the Senate, with a statewide average or quota of 82,967 per senator based on the 1950 federal census, the superseded districts ranged in population per senator from a maximum of 190,491 to a minimum of 41,442. In the new apportionment the district of largest population is Arlington County (135,449); the one with the fewest people consists of Culpepper, Fauquier and Loudoun Counties (55,637). There are 36 districts, for 40 senators.

As to the House, with a quota of 33,187 per delegate, the old districts ranged from 106,092 down to 14,829 per delegate. The largest population under the new apportionment is the city of Alexandria (61,787) and the smallest is in a district comprising Botetourt and Craig Counties (19,218). There are 76 districts, for 100 delegates.

Thus in the Senate the district of largest population is nearly two and a half times as large as the smallest; and in the House the ratio is over three to one.

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### ***Senate Seats for Defeated Executive Candidates?***

A proposed amendment to the Oregon constitution has been introduced in the legislature of that state, to provide a senate seat for the defeated candidate for governor after each election for that office. Sponsors of the amendment are Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Senator Robert D. Holmes and Mrs. Neuberger, who is a member of the House of Representatives. The present number of 30 senators, all elected from districts, would be increased to 31. The added senator would have a statewide status, with the same rights and duties as other senators; and it would be expected that he would function as a leader of the op-

(Continued on page 150)

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County and Township . . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

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## Erie County Acts to Consolidate Libraries

### *Other Cities and Counties Consider Merging Functions*

**A**FTER three years of negotiations and discussions among the Erie County (New York) commissioners, the Buffalo common council and representatives of the three library systems involved, a plan of merger of Erie County libraries has been evolved. After local adoption, the plan must be approved by the state legislature.

Libraries concerned are the Buffalo Public Library, which is privately owned though publicly operated, the Grosvenor Library, made possible by bequest with title now held by a board of trustees appointed by mayor and council, and some 25 town, village and city libraries outside Buffalo constructed and owned by the local governments. Since 1948 Erie County has been financing the full operating costs of all these libraries.

The proposal would transfer all assets of the Grosvenor Library and the Buffalo Public Library, but not its nineteen branches, to a newly created county unit to be known as the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library. The branch libraries and the libraries outside Buffalo would continue to receive their operating costs from the county. The new unit would be headed by a fifteen-member board of trustees, at least eight of whom would be residents of Buffalo. The members would be appointed for five-year overlapping terms by the county board of supervisors, but five would be nominees of the mayor of Buffalo.

## *Merger of Functions Sought by Counties and Their Cities*

Chattanooga and Hamilton County, Tennessee, are considering the construction of a joint administration building which would cost approximately \$2,000,000. The plan calls for construction of the new center to house all city and county administrative offices, jailing space for city and county prisoners, a 500-seat assembly room for employees and a recreation room and lounge. Provision would be made for off-street parking facilities for government employees and the public. The present court house would be devoted entirely to the courts.

Several communities in North Carolina report efforts to secure better coordination between the county and municipal governments in their respective areas. In Guilford County, the commissioners, the delegation to the General Assembly and members of the governing bodies of Greensboro, High Point, Jamestown, Hamilton Lake and Gibsonville met recently for the fifth time since 1949 to discuss problems of mutual interest.

Catawba County and the city of Newton are establishing a joint fingerprinting and photography laboratory.

Edgecombe, Nash, Pitt and Wilson Counties are discussing with the cities of Greenville, Rocky Mount, Tarboro and Wilson the possibilities of establishing a regional airport.

## *Two Washington Counties Consider New Charters*

As a result of a survey it has made, the Municipal League of Seattle and King County discloses that its members agree on need for a new county charter. Although members differ as to what the charter should contain, they believe

that defeat of the proposed council manager charter last fall should not cause the league to relax its efforts to modernize King County's government.

The Grange Committee on County Government of Klickitat County, Washington, is making a study of the council-manager form of government for possible adoption by that county.

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### ***Erie County Supervisors Plan Study***

The board of supervisors of Erie County, New York, has initiated a study to "take stock of the county government and plan for its future role in serving the citizens of the whole county."

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### ***New York Town Association Meets***

The New York Association of Towns held its annual meeting in New York City in January. Sessions were held by supervisors and councilmen, justices of the peace, town clerks, highway superintendents, assessors, welfare and service officers, collectors and receivers of taxes, town and county attorneys, planning and zoning officers, historians, fire officers and police officers.

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### ***Louisiana Moves to Supplement Coroners***

In accordance with state legislation passed last year, permitting parishes (counties) within any of the eight congressional districts of Louisiana to co-operate to establish a forensic laboratory, two districts, the first and second, have consented to use one such laboratory located in Orleans Parish. The legislation was the result of efforts of the State Coroners' Association, headed by Dr. Willis P. Butler, coroner of Caddo Parish. Another laboratory, in Shreveport, serves the fourth congressional district parishes and, at times, nineteen other parishes, and organization of service to the fifth congressional

district is nearing completion with a laboratory at Munroe.

Coroners remain elective in the state's 64 parishes. Only one of them is a pathologist and it is reported difficult to get well qualified doctors to run for the office.

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### **STATE COST UP**

(Continued from page 128)

where trends and problems closely resemble those in Michigan, recent enactments and referenda have sent the local assistance budget soaring and have left the state facing an operating deficit of \$91,000,000 for fiscal 1954. To close the gap, the governor is recommending a series of new taxes. Probably Michigan's experience is distinctive in the fact that the developments outlined above have been more rapid than in most states and attended by more complications.

Michigan state government is in the throes of a widely heralded financial crisis. For the fifth year it is operating in the red and its cumulative deficit may be \$90,000,000 by June 30 next. The foregoing data indicate that the state's financial crisis is not attributable to extravagant state administration nor to an intolerable burden of state and local government costs.

The state government's vicissitudes are the inescapable consequences of the sales tax diversion amendment, and other measures, which have saddled the state with so large a portion of the costs of local government without providing commensurate revenue. Belatedly, the legislature is engaged in the perplexing and painful task of adjusting the state's revenue structure to the situation produced by the sales tax diversion amendment.



## Taxation and Finance

. . . Edited by Wade S. Smith

## Cheap Money Era Fades for State-local Units

### *Rude Awakening Now Faces Some Municipal Debtors*

FOR the past decade or so the editors of the REVIEW have received in a steady flow, but rarely passed on for the edification of the reader, clippings or mimeographed press releases containing a common but fallacious syllogism. Briefly, the argument has been to the effect that well run cities with good credit can borrow at low interest costs; "our" city—or county, or school district—sold bonds recently at the lowest cost in its history; therefore, "our" city—or county, or school district—is extraordinarily well run and enjoys the highest credit.

The credit of a governmental unit, like that of an individual, of course plays a part in determining the cost at which it can borrow money at any given time. And many cities and other municipal units have markedly improved their credit standing by improvements in their charters, in the caliber of their administrative personnel, by adherence to soundly conceived capital plans, by improved budgeting and accounting, etc.

But other factors also play a large part in determining the interest cost to a borrower, including the well known twins, supply and demand. In the case of state and municipal borrowers, two other potent factors also influence borrowing cost: tax exemption (i.e., the exemption of interest on state and municipal bonds from federal income taxes) and federal monetary policy.

Credit factors have not changed markedly for the great majority of

state and local governmental units over the past six months or so, but important changes are occurring in the other four factors mentioned, with the result that the cost of state and local borrowing has risen and may be expected to rise further. And already there is appearing another variety of press clippings, whose authors remonstrate in hurt or angry tones that their cities—or counties or school districts or what have you—have done nothing to warrant the higher interest costs now being demanded when they go into the money market to finance needed improvements.

The state and local units have, of course, done something to warrant the higher interest costs now required when they issue their bonds: they have issued bonds, or sought to issue bonds. Collectively, they issued more than four billion dollars worth in 1952 and in all probability will issue a somewhat greater quantity in 1953. In 1946, when state-local borrowing costs were at an all-time low, new state and municipal issues only slightly exceeded one billion dollars, and followed the lean-supply war years when volume had fallen as low as half a billion dollars.

The increase in supply fails to tell the whole story of rising state-local borrowing costs, however. The bugaboo is demand, as influenced by shifts in the value of tax exemption and federal monetary policy. The economists remind us that demand for a given supply is elastic, varying with price. In the case of the wartime and immediate postwar supply of state and municipal bonds, an abnormally low supply was accompanied by very high federal income tax and surtax rates, and by a federal policy of keeping interest rates low.

Tax exemption and monetary policy, in other words, operated to increase tremendously the demand for the limited supply and to raise the price (i.e., lower the interest cost) for state-local borrowers. Additionally, there was a virtual cessation of corporate borrowing and, at the same time, many corporations accumulated large reserves which, because of tax exemption, were advantageously invested temporarily in municipal bonds.

### Increase in Costs

As the volume of municipal borrowing increased, as higher-bracket income tax rates were lowered, and as corporations used up their reserves for the improvements for which they had been accumulated, the cost of local borrowing gradually increased. At the same time, shifts in federal monetary policy upped the general level of interest costs (notably the "freeing" of the market for United States government bonds and notes in March 1951). Ignoring the fluctuations, *The Bond Buyer's* index of yield on twenty representative state and local bonds was in the vicinity of 2 per cent from 1949 through late summer in 1952, compared with its all-time low of 1.29 per cent in February 1946.

A more marked and fundamental change has occurred in the last six months or so, however. Collectively, the change is indicated again by *The Bond Buyer's* twenty-bond index, up from 2.17 per cent, at the beginning of August 1952, to 2.38 per cent at the end of December and 2.46 per cent at the end of January 1953. The recent level was just under the postwar peak of 2.47 per cent reached in March 1948, under the impact of then record-breaking large state issues for veterans' bonuses.

Underlying this rise of approximately 30 basis points in approximately six months are the two factors critically

affecting demand: a prospectively lessened value of tax exemption, based on the general expectation that higher-bracket federal income tax rates will be lowered by the new Republican administration, and the formulation of a new federal debt policy which portends a rise in the general interest level.

One does not have to be a tax expert or mathematician to figure the value of the tax exemption feature of municipal bonds. To illustrate in simple terms, it is evident that a tax-exempt bond yielding 2 per cent is the equivalent in income to its holder of a 4 per cent taxable bond at a tax rate of 50 per cent. If the tax rate is reduced to 25 per cent, however, a taxable bond yielding 2.7 per cent before taxes will produce income equivalent to the 2 per cent tax-exempt security. Since the top-bracket surtax rate on individual incomes is presently 92 per cent, and on corporate income 52 per cent, it is evident that even relatively modest reductions in the rates will strongly affect the position of tax-exempt bonds relative to taxable bonds. Investors cannot afford to ignore such reductions when considering the price at which they will purchase bonds, moreover; the expectation of change either causes them to withdraw from the market to await the event or to anticipate it by requiring yields sufficient to discount the expected change.

Similarly, the effect of rising interest rates on the federal debt is a tangible factor. The new national administration is well known to be committed to a change in monetary policy, notably a shift from short-term to long-term debt. In early February the Treasury announced the plans for the large February 15 refunding, including the offer of either one-year  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent certificates or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent bonds due in five years and ten months in exchange for outstanding  $1\frac{1}{8}$  per cent certificates. In

financial circles 3 per cent to  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent rates for long-term bonds were freely discussed as the best that might be expected for a really long term re-financing—say twenty years. The interest return on the federal debt is all-pervasive in the money market and, as in the case of tax exemption, investors cannot ignore the developing trend.

All this would be of merely academic interest were it not for the fact that local government touches us all at the very closest level, that most of our communities still have urgent need for improvements which can be financed only by the issuance of additional bonds, and that the cost of carrying that debt—i.e., the interest on the bonds—is an inflexible budget charge once the debt has been incurred. It is important, therefore, that alert citizens and local officials alike recognize that recent low borrowing costs have not, *per se*, been the result of good administration or other favorable credit circumstances, nor will higher borrowing costs be themselves indications of contrary circumstances.

### Effects of Deflation

Early 1953 provided some good examples of the extent to which deflation is catching up with states and local units which must issue bonds to raise money. Most striking was the example of the state of California, whose bonds are rated high grade by most investors. On February 3, 1952, the state sold \$100,000,000 of bonds to finance its program of loans to veterans for home and farm purchases. The bonds were due in one to twenty years and were sold at an average interest cost of 2.415 per cent. Approximately one year earlier, on January 9, 1952, the state sold \$50,000,000 of its bonds, including \$25,000,000 veterans loan aid bonds, which fetched an average interest cost of 1.72755 per cent; not only was the 1952 price higher, or interest

rate lower, but the 1952 issue was due in one to twenty-five years, or five years longer than the 1953 offering.

The difference in size between the offerings perhaps caused some small increase in the 1953 cost, but the change in market conditions was the overriding factor. Where the syndicate purchasing the 1952 issue reoffered the bonds then on a scale yielding from 1.05 per cent for bonds due in one year to 1.55 per cent for bonds due in ten years and 1.85 per cent for bonds due in twenty years, the 1953 issue was priced at retail at from 1.10 per cent for one-year maturities to 2.10 per cent for ten-year maturities and approximately 2.52 per cent for twenty-year maturities.

The reoffering scale, i.e., yield to investors who purchased them from the underwriters, for the February 1953 California state bonds was almost identical with that on \$12,000,000 city of Los Angeles general obligations sold January 27, 1953, which were scaled at from 1.10 per cent for one-year maturities to 2.55 per cent for the twenty-year bonds. Los Angeles will pay an average net interest of 2.38998 per cent for this bond issue, compared with 1.624 per cent basis for a somewhat smaller issue sold in March 1952 and maturing also in one to twenty years.

These provide examples of the rise in the cost of borrowing as it affects units with good credit histories. Unfavorable factors in the credit picture, which were frequently ignored altogether by the market when interest rates were lower and demand extraordinarily good, are now tending once more to cause a spread between the average interest rates and costs to borrowers with less favorable histories. Where six months ago interest costs of 3 per cent or more were the marks of borderline situations and occurred mainly in the case of marginal or un-



seasoned revenue bond issuers, now costs of 3 per cent and more are becoming common among issuers who defaulted in the 1930s, whose debts presently are markedly out of line, or who exhibit other weak credit features.

How much higher interest cost for local borrowers will rise is problematical, of course. One thing seems sure, however: few clippings and press releases are likely to cite the higher costs as proof that "our city" has gone to the dogs, and civic groups should study their communities carefully before so concluding.

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### ***State Turns Down Plea of New York for More Aid***

New York City's requests for a \$62,700,000 increase in state aid for fiscal 1953-54 received treatment considerably rougher than anticipated when the state's \$1,072,500,000 budget came up for action. After hearing Mayor Vincent Impellitteri deliver in person an appeal for amendments to increase the city's share of state taxes and grants, the State Senate adopted the executive budget without change, 53 to 1. The budget bill now goes to the assembly, where city representatives are expected to renew their bid for more financial assistance.

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### ***St. Louis Group Endorses Earnings Tax, Charter Reform***

The Citizens Finance Committee, appointed by Mayor Joseph M. Darst of St. Louis last year to report on the financial problems of the city, made its final report in January. It found that the city's expenses—which evidently were not out of line with those of comparable communities—had increased more rapidly than its revenues from ordinary sources, and concluded that retention of the earnings tax on the gross incomes of individuals and the net profits of corporations would

have to be continued indefinitely beyond its expiration date of April 1, 1954.

It recommended also, however, reforms in charter and legislative law respecting city and county administration to eliminate duplication of personnel and services, improvements in the recruitment, classification and administration of personnel, enactment of enabling legislation to permit establishment of a uniform city employee retirement program, and adoption of a capital improvement program to rehabilitate the downtown business district and provide needed improvements elsewhere in the city.

Noting that it could find no opportunities for large-scale reductions in city expenditures, the committee observed that there was none the less opportunity for lowering costs and increasing efficiency, particularly in the areas where city and county functions overlap. Recalling the failure of the charter drafted in 1949-51 to secure voter approval in August 1951, the committee stated that "charter revision and administrative reorganization offer the most promising sources of economy and increased efficiency in the St. Louis city government. In spite of the difficulties involved, steps should be taken to achieve these objectives."

With respect to revenues, it was recommended that all fees for inspection services be reviewed and fixed at rates sufficient to meet the full cost of the inspections. Study of the fiscal aspects of the city's hospitals was also urged, with a view to securing larger revenues from patients, who pay only about 10 per cent of operating costs. Placing of the water system on a 100 per cent metered basis by eliminating all remaining flat rate customers was also recommended, to save an estimated \$375,000 annually to pump and purify water wasted by flat-rate consumers.

## Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.  
and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

### Legislators Frown on P. R. Bills

#### *Civic Groups Support Them at a Massachusetts Hearing*

A HEARING on a number of P. R. bills before the Massachusetts legislature was held in Boston February 5. Representatives of civic groups in Worcester, Cambridge and Lynn spoke for a bill which would restore the right of additional cities to adopt P. R. in the state's optional council-manager law, known as Plan E, as well as for one which would raise from 5 to the customary 10 per cent the number of signatures needed in a city to place the question of P. R.'s retention on the ballot in a city which now has it.

Charles H. McGlue, former Democratic state chairman and longtime foe of P. R., urged the committee to approve his proposed measure, which would completely outlaw the use of P. R. in the state.

Colonel John B. Atkinson, former city manager of Cambridge, which has used P. R. since 1942, spoke in support of P. R., taking issue with Mr. McGlue's charges against the system. Mrs. Ruth H. Romer, representing the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, stated that the repeal of the P. R. option by the legislature<sup>1</sup> was a "direct violation of the principle of home rule."

The committee later voted to report all P. R. proposals adversely and thus retain the status quo.

### *Worcester Holds Recount for School Committeeman*

The resignation of Worcester School

Committeeman Francis X. Powers to become city auditor has called into play the vacancy-filling recount provisions of the Massachusetts "Plan E" charter legislation providing for elections by the Hare system of proportional representation. This was the second such recount since Worcester adopted its present charter. The 8,415 ballots which elected Mr. Powers in the 1951 election were redistributed according to the next choices marked thereon, selecting Timothy J. Dowd as his successor.

### *Bill to Emasculate P. R. Passes Italian Lower House*

The new Italian electoral law, passed by the Chamber of Deputies last January, and awaiting action by the Senate, would abolish many of the proportional characteristics of the present system in order to give bare nationwide majorities a considerable preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies, while still retaining the party list type of ballot.

Passage of the measure by the chamber came only after 37 days of protracted sessions, during which opponents proposed 2,300 separate amendments, kept up a stream of oratory so long as the rules would permit, and even precipitated an occasional violent scuffle on the floor of the chamber. When the chips were down, however, at five o'clock of the morning after a 67-hour session following a call for a vote of confidence, the vote was decisive: 180 Communists and left-wing Socialists, representing the largest minorities likely to be left out of a government coalition and therefore discriminated against by the proposed law, walked out to abstain from voting and

(Continued on page 158)

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 409; May 1952, page 257; and June 1952, page 309.

## Cincinnati Women Ring Doorbells — or

### *How One Woman Got into Local Politics*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is taken from a talk given by MRS. EDWARD KUHN, chairman of the Women's Division of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, San Antonio, November 18, 1952.

**I**N POLITICS I am a rank amateur and one of those unreliable characters known as the volunteer. My approach to public affairs was a somewhat gradual one. After college I entered nurse's training, received my R.N., promptly married and raised a family. That ended my nursing career, but not my interest and activity in a number of nursing and public health organizations.

During the war, as chairman of the Red Cross nurse's aide corps, I saw for the first time the tremendous possibilities of the woman volunteer and the literally thousands of hours of work that could be utilized under proper conditions. Nurse's aides came from all walks of life but the housewife predominated—the middle-aged housewife made the best worker. This work entailed some neglect of housework, but the families didn't mind. In fact, they were proud of mama.

For me it was an easy and natural step from public health to politics and this is how it happened.

About 27 years ago the Cincinnati City Charter Committee was organized by a group of amateur politicians and it succeeded in ridding Cincinnati of one of the worst political machines in the country. The result was a council-

manager form of government, a small council of nine elected by proportional representation, and the merit system. The City Charter Committee is actually a local political party. It runs a coalition ticket of nine councilmanic candidates every two years in opposition to the machine ticket. Its aim is to continue good government in Cincinnati.

I had always been an enthusiastic though inactive supporter of the charter party. In 1946, after my wartime work was over, things began to happen in city hall that made me sit up and take notice.

Our charter councilmen had introduced a smoke elimination bill to rid the city of one of the worst smoke palls in these United States and a real menace to the health of the community. This bill was opposed by the machine majority in council, by two of our leading newspapers, by the railroads and by the soft coal operators who were literally pouring a fortune into Cincinnati to lick the bill.

But the charter volunteers, under the inspired guidance of one of our women, rolled up their sleeves and went to work. They obtained thousands of petitions, they bombarded city hall, they stood on street corners and they packed the public hearings. Under the pressure of an aroused citizenry the opposition finally and reluctantly gave in and for the first time in anybody's memory Cincinnati enjoyed clean air.

Again I saw the volunteer in action and I realized that these women were doing a terrific job in practical politics. So when the opportunity came to help in the fight for good government I happily accepted. My first work was to organize the thirteenth ward, and



since 1948 I have been chairman of the Women's Division of the City Charter Committee which helps to organize the entire city.

The main job of the Women's Division is to elect a charter majority to council, in other words, to win elections. Of course, we don't always win—right now we are, let us say, a fighting minority. Our organization follows the usual pattern of ward chairman, precinct captain and lowly worker. We have anywhere from 1,000 to 1,400 volunteers working in election years. They do a house-to-house doorbell-ringing campaign in their precincts, they stand at the polls on election day and they act as challengers inside the voting booths.

But there isn't, in city politics, the flaming patriotism that drove volunteers into wartime nursing. So we must find a more reasonable approach to keep alive their interest and enthusiasm. This approach is education—the inspiration and indoctrination of our volunteers is perhaps the most important part of our program. You cannot send women out to work unless they know just what they are working and fighting for.

The education program goes on continuously, particularly at the ward chairman level. We have ward chairmen's monthly meetings the year around. We discuss important city issues, and some that are not so important, and we do enjoy a bit of good city hall gossip—we do not take ourselves too seriously. We also have neighborhood meetings throughout the city, particularly in election years. They are informal, amusing and we like to have the audience take a lively part in the program. In the months prior to election we often have councilmanic candidates as speakers.

In the past few years we have had pre-council meeting luncheons where

the council calendar is discussed at length before the women go on to the session en masse. The opposition does not enjoy our little invasions of city hall, especially when controversial subjects are on the agenda and the sessions get a little rough. They realize, as do we, that this is one of the best ways of educating our volunteers in the ways of good government, for here they learn the importance of local issues and they see the councilmen in action.

But ours is not just an educational campaign. It is a kind of crusade. We want our volunteers, especially ward chairmen, to feel that the city charter is the most important thing in their town and many of them do. They get terribly excited about such things as slum clearance, capital improvement programs, the Master Plan, the street railway franchise, yes, even sewage disposal.

In short, every little crisis at city hall becomes a major conflict and they are part of it.

I have been asked, "What in your job is your most rewarding experience?" That's a silly question. The answer is—to win elections.

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### ***All Eyes Are on the Legislatures***

The Legislative Committee of the Citizens Union of New York City started its 48th year at the beginning of the 1953 state legislative session. The committee meets once a week during the session to approve or oppose bills in which the union has an interest.

"Olympia Report" is the title of the section in the *Municipal News* of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County which reports on doings at the state legislative session. The report is made each week by Don Becker, *News* editor, who spends much of his

time at Olympia, the state capital, during the session.

For the convenience of its members, the League of Women Voters of New York City has issued a 1953 edition of *They Represent You in Washington, Albany and New York City*. Listed are the names of executive officials for the federal, state and local governments, as well as congressmen, U. S. senators, state legislators and city councilmen. Included also are tips on how to address public officials and maps showing congressional, assembly and senatorial districts in the city.

State Leagues of Women Voters all over the country are keeping their collective eyes on legislative sessions, watching and working for their special projects. In Ohio it is penal institutions, aid to local governments, highway improvements and taxes. The New York league is striving for the fifteenth consecutive year to secure permanent personal registration; it is also working on other improvements in the electoral system and the regulation of political parties. The Connecticut league inquires "Why not a constitutional convention bill?" Its *Connecticut Voter* meets the arguments given against passage of such a bill. The Indiana league is also pressing for action by the legislature to secure a constitutional convention.

In Wisconsin the league is working in four fields—human rights and individual liberties, taxation, education and reapportionment. Prior to the opening of the 1953 Missouri legislature, the League of Women Voters of St. Louis held a luncheon attended by sixteen state legislators. The league's agenda—revision of election laws, redistricting, human rights, survey of state government and state education—was presented to the legislators who were told "what we were hoping for in the coming session."

### **Colorado Springs Group Plans Support of Candidates**

The Charter Association of Colorado Springs, Colorado, organized last fall,<sup>1</sup> held its first members' meeting in January. The association elected A. Earl Bryson as its president. The board of directors appointed a candidates' committee about which Mr. Bryson had this to say:

"The board will function largely through standing committees, one of the most important of which will be an appointed candidates' committee of seven chosen from outside its own membership. This committee will canvass the field of potential candidates, make its choice, [quoting from the by-laws] 'of at least one willing and qualified candidate for each office to be filled', these recommendations to be submitted to the membership for final approval.

"If approved, these candidates will have the active support of the organization in the election, thus overcoming the reluctance of many good citizens to stand for election without organized support. The principal of the office seeking the man rather than the man seeking the office also has obvious benefits.

"Although I am sure it is the hope that we can all unite behind the carefully considered recommendations of the candidates' committee, provision is made, in keeping with our democratic objectives, for direct nomination by the membership. This alternative method of nomination is provided through petition signed by either 50 members or 10 per cent of the total membership, whichever is larger, and filed with the secretary of the board at least two weeks prior to the announced date of the members' meeting at which the candidates committee will report."

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 581.

### Support for Manager Plan

The Citizens' Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut, largely responsible for adoption of that city's council-manager charter in 1947, plans a revival of its work, possibly with a paid secretary and permanent headquarters. Its chairman, Howard Goodwin, comments, "We have reached the point where the Charter Committee needs a long range program, not only for 1953 but for the future."

Commenting on the proposal, the *Hartford Courant* says, editorially: "If Hartford will continue, through its Charter Committee, to defend the principle of efficient government, it will, with each passing year, become a showpiece of intelligence and ethics in government. It is human nature to accept as commonplace anything that is familiar. Today we accept as routine the idea that the affairs of the city shall be run without favoritism, waste, corruption or any of the slipshod ways that are characteristic of many American communities, including our greater cities."

### "Bows" to the Voter

The Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, in a report on *Louisiana Voter Participation*, states that the registration of Louisiana citizens in 1952 was record-breaking. On October 4, the final date for registering for the November election, there were 1,056,873 registered voters, a 14.3 per cent increase over the number of registered voters for the 1948 presidential election. They represented 64.4 per cent of the population of voting age as compared with 59.5 per cent in 1948. The increase in registration was due largely to an increase in Negro registrants, reports the council. Tables set forth figures for parishes in Louisiana, an interstate comparison of voting participation and other interesting data.

Dearborn has won first place in a get-out-the-vote contest sponsored in thirteen major Michigan cities by the Bay City Battalion. A plaque was awarded to the city, says the *Michigan Municipal Review*, for the city's large turnout in the November 4 election of 87.2 per cent of its registered voters. Formal presentation was made by Arnold J. Copeland, chairman of the Bay City Battalion.

### Strictly Personal

The newly organized Citizens of Greater Chicago,<sup>1</sup> has announced appointment of Fred K. Hoehler, formerly director of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, as its executive director.

Thomas S. Green, Jr., has been re-elected president of the Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts. Charles A. McCoy was elected secretary. Mrs. Martha M. Lindegren, former secretary, will continue as executive secretary.

## CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 139)

position party in the Senate. He would not be barred from seeking the governorship again.

Senator Neuberger, in an article in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* on January 18, 1953, not only proposed that this plan be applied in states, but pointed out that a similar plan has been advocated for the nation—a defeated candidate for the presidency to be given a seat in the United States Senate, as a senator at large. He also called attention to the further possibility of senate seats for ex-governors in the states and ex-presidents in the nation, thus making the benefits of their experience and knowledge constantly available.

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 418.



Researcher's Digest . . . . . Edited by John E. Bebout

**Traffic and  
Turnpikes Studied**  
*Intergovernmental Aspects  
Stressed in Recent Reports*

THAT the 20,700 miles of new highways built in 1950 would hardly provide parking space for the well over six million autos produced that year is a wry reminder of the proportions of the ever-growing traffic problem—"nightmare" is perhaps a better term. But studies and action continue, giving hope of some relief for bedeviled drivers and harassed pedestrians.

Cities still are the principal bottlenecks, but there is some recognition that cities, suburbs and countryside must join hands to aid the auto owner. The Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, in three *Bulletins* (December 11 and 18, 1952, and January 28, 1953), quotes that city's Land Commission: "A metropolitan system of expressways is both necessary and desirable for Milwaukee. However, as a metropolitan system, it obviously cannot be planned for the area within the city limits of Milwaukee alone since it is a project which profoundly affects the planning, the financing and the future growth of the entire metropolitan community."

The *Bulletins* call for an intergovernmental agreement on this subject, citing the case of the Detroit expressways now under construction. The Detroit expressway program is also referred to in an item from the *Engineering News-Record* quoted in the December 1, 1952, *United States Municipal News*, published by the United States Conference of Mayors, "\$180-million Expressway Program Passes the One-third Mark." These 23 miles of new De-

troit expressways were jointly planned and are being built by city, county, state and national agencies. In effect, the same procedure has been followed in realizing Chicago's 67 miles and Pittsburgh's 28 miles of new expressways.

The Milwaukee bureau is also concerned with the large proportion of state highway aid that is being expended on rural roads and asks that the formula be changed to give Milwaukee County more funds. *The Municipality* (League of Wisconsin Municipalities, Madison) for December 1952 attacks this general problem from a slightly different angle in a report from its committee on highways, "How Should City and Village Streets Be Financed." Pointing to the high proportion of urban general property taxes now going to highway purposes, this report calls for an increase in the state gasoline tax and increases in state aid to localities, especially to cities. The *Wisconsin Tax News* (Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, Madison, December 31, 1952) reports that the tax rise is unnecessary, although it fails to mention any special problems in Milwaukee.

Paying for the required changes is an obstacle with which any feasible plan for solving traffic congestion must cope. A series of three articles by Joseph C. Ingraham in *The New York Times* for January 14 to 16, 1953, suggests that "efficient and fair enforcement" of traffic laws can bring financial support from private sources. The Detroit Traffic Safety Association, the Los Angeles office of the Automobile Club of Southern California and the Chicago Citizens Traffic Safety Board have devoted both money and effort to their local problems. The *Times* articles center on the questions of rush

hour congestion, parking and law enforcement, and they sharply criticize New York on all of these counts, in comparing it with Los Angeles, Detroit and other large cities.

Two thorough, well illustrated reports of the Cleveland downtown parking survey, by the Cleveland City Planning Commission, *Final Report* and *Technical Supplement* (December 1952), suggest alternative solutions. A merchants' and building owners' association, within the terms of a city master plan, could buy, lease, construct and operate parking facilities, as has been done in Oakland, California, and Allentown, Pennsylvania. Or a parking authority could, among other measures, encourage and assist private enterprise to develop additional parking facilities.

### Roanoke Builds Garage

One of the reasons why Roanoke, Virginia, was selected by the National Municipal League as one of the 1952 All-America Cities was the construction by merchants and other interested persons of a 500-car, \$600,000 parking garage. Newburgh, New York, another All-America city, is expecting to realize about \$250,000 per year from its new off-street parking facilities, built by the city. A news release from Public Administration Clearing House (Chicago, January 29, 1953) says that "waterfront development, especially along rivers, can provide needed additional parking space as well as add to the city's recreational facilities." Cincinnati and San Francisco are planning along these lines today. An *Off-street Parking Survey* (December 15, 1952), conducted by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, looks at off-street parking facilities outside the central business district and presents the results of a questionnaire submitted to about fifteen large cities.

Three recent reports on state highways indicate that planning, inter-

governmental cooperation and financing are key problems in this larger area also. The Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, in its fourth report, *Highway Relationships in Maryland* (Baltimore, September 1952), states that: "Harmonious intergovernmental relationships in highway affairs are of utmost significance in achieving the goal of a modern highway plant adequate to meet present and future traffic needs." There must be "a unity of viewpoint and action; a unity not only between highway officials of the states, counties and cities, but between citizens, agricultural and industrial people, and government leaders as well." It calls for a complete reexamination of state and county roads and city streets, a revision of laws affecting their relationships and the preparation of long-range highway or street development plans by all cities, counties and the state.

*Utah's Highway Finance Problem—1953* (Utah Foundation, Salt Lake City) briefly debates whether that state should catch up with long-range highway needs by adopting a "greatly accelerated construction program." It summarizes several reports on this question, published recently. A report of the Nebraska Legislative Council Committee on Highways (Committee Report No. 37, July 1952) recommends that Nebraska launch such an accelerated program and devote to it an additional \$5,000,000 during each of two years. It suggests that the legislature direct the governor to appoint a temporary committee of eight members, charged with preparing "a layout showing Nebraska's accepted and ultimate system of highways" and specifying construction priorities.

Turning to toll roads, the Nebraska committee is of the opinion that they need not be considered there at the present time. A Public Administration Clearing House news release (January

15, 1953) reports that "toll roads are more likely to be successful in areas of high population density and traffic density." The New Jersey turnpike, the addition to the Pennsylvania turnpike, and the Denver and Boulder, Colorado, turnpikes have brought in more revenue than was expected. In about nineteen other states, including a few rather sparsely populated ones, new toll roads have recently been given serious consideration.<sup>1</sup>

*The New Jersey Turnpike*, an address by Paul L. Troast, chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, (before The Municipal Forum of New York) November 7, 1952, (available in pamphlet form) relates some of the serious obstacles the authority encountered in building and operating that road. An article, "Working on the LEVY" (*Tax Outlook*, the Tax Foundation, New York, January 1953) openly attacks the bill, presented in the 82d Congress and due to reappear in the 83d Congress, which would provide for a parkway running from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico along the Mississippi River. The idea is an intriguing one.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

#### Bureau Notes

The name of the University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research has been changed to Governmental Research Center.

The Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles has moved its offices in order to make room for a new freeway and, consequently, has announced two changes in policy. Its research library has been given to the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles. It will continue its practice of maintaining a staff of resident research scholars and

in the future will operate as a financing agency for scholars working in its fields of interest.

The Western Governmental Research Association has reproduced the *Proceedings* of its twelfth annual conference, held at Sacramento, California, October 23-24, 1952. Copies are available at the Office of the Secretariat, 346 Library Annex, University of California, Berkeley, price \$1.00 each.

The Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, in its *Illinois Tax Facts* (Springfield, January 2 to January 30, 1953), has published a series of statistics and other information about that state's schools and their problems.

#### Strictly Personal

Guy C. Larcom, Jr., former director of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research and Citizens League, left that post on February 1 to accept a position in private business. Estal E. Sparlin, assistant director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, has been chosen as successor to Mr. Larcom.

George H. Deming, director of the Bureau of Government Research at the University of New Hampshire, has resigned to accept a position in the Washington, D. C., office of the American Municipal Association.

Alvin S. Burger, formerly director of research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed executive director of the Texas Research League in Austin.

#### Bureau Reports

**Annual Report for 1951-1952.** Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, July 1952. 26 pp.

**Changing Times Mean a Changing Program.** Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, January 1953. 16 pp.

**Record of Progress and Accomplishment.** Cleveland, Citizens League and

<sup>1</sup>See "State Turnpike Authorities Expand," the REVIEW, November 1952, page 504.



Bureau of Governmental Research, *Greater Cleveland*, January 7, 1953. 12 pp.

**Report of Activities for 1952.** Waterbury (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., January 12, 1953. 4 pp.

## Research Reports and Articles

### Assessors

**What Qualifications Should Be Required of Assessors?** Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, January 19, 1953. 4 pp.

### Budgets

**A Basic Change in Pittsburgh City Finance.** The League Reviews the City's 1953 Budget. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division, December 1952. 9 pp.

**Meeting the Budget Crisis.** Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, January 13, 1953. 4 pp.

**Statement Regarding the 1953 Budget of the County of Cook.** Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, December 1952. 11 pp.

### Child Welfare

**Aid to Dependent Children in Utah.** Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, December 1952. 4 pp.

### Education

**Condensed Analysis of Major Phases of the Missouri Citizens Commission's Study of Education.** Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, January 1953. 13 pp.

**Public School Statistics of the Forty-eight States for the School Year 1949-50.** A Series of Charts. Based upon Data Reported by the U. S. Office of Education. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, December 1952. 23 pp. \$1.00.

**Statement Made at the Chicago Board of Education Public Budget Hearing.** By Harland C. Stockwell.

Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, January 1953. 8 pp.

**A Study of State Support for Wyoming Schools.** Cheyenne, Wyoming Legislative Interim Committee, December 1952. 18 pp.

### Police

**What About Detectives?** Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, January 12, 1953. 6 pp.

### Police Unions

**Large City Police Departments and Labor Unions.** Seattle, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, January 16, 1953. 3 pp.

**A Unionized State Police?** Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, Inc., *CPEC Special Bulletin*, January 1953. 2 pp.

### Public Welfare

**Improving Public Assistance.** Some Aspects of the Welfare Problem. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, January 1953. 44 pp.

### Purchasing

**Houston's City Purchasing.** A Survey Report. Houston, Texas, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., 1953. iii, 38 pp.

### Sewage Disposal

**Methods of Financing Sewers and Sewage Treatment Works in West Virginia.** Charleston, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1952. v, 73 pp.

### Taxation and Finance

**The City's Revenue Structure.** Providence (Rhode Island), Governmental Research Bureau, December 1952. 2 pp.

**Control of the Purse Strings. Part I: The Present Fiscal Process and Controls over State Expenditures.** Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, September 1952. v, 100 pp.

**Exemptions Show Steady Rise.** Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government*, January 1953. 3 pp.

# Books in Review

**A Two-party South?** By Alexander Heard. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1952. xviii, 334 pp. \$4.75.

The author was principal associate of V. O. Key, Jr., in the three-year field investigation which produced the latter's current classic *Southern Politics*. In this volume some of the same voluminous material of 1947 is reviewed and arranged to provide fine factual reporting, exhibiting the chances for successful invasion of the eleven southern states by the Republican party and the development of the two-party pattern there in state as well as national elections. Unfortunately, the text necessarily stops short of the denouement furnished by the outcome of the 1952 election and the unprecedented strength shown by the Republican presidential candidate in that area, which now answers many of the author's conjectures.

Wisely Mr. Heard concludes: "If some of these things come to pass, they will surely come in fragments, with strife, and perhaps in unforeseen ways. Yet there can be little doubt that much of the south is moving closer to competitive party politics. The changes that occur will contribute to more representative, and more responsive, state and local government; and all citizens in the south will have a more straightforward—and more effective—means of influence in national politics."

R.S.C.

**Raleigh City Government. A Handbook for Citizens.** Raleigh, North Carolina, League of Women Voters, 1952. 65 pp.

This is another of those admirable pamphlets which various local branches of the League of Women Voters have been getting out in their respective cities. It includes some observations

about the character of Raleigh, its economic characteristics and population, condensed to two pages. The rest is a manual of the structure of the city government and its departments and activities, in a form that can be comprehended by eighth or ninth grade students. It supplements the general civil government courses, in which all available text books stop short of the specific local field. In cases where such pamphlets as this can be used routinely in a certain grade of the schools, year after year, they are capable of great influence. In fact, it is hard to see how citizens can be methodically reached with such information in any other way.

**Government in Rural America** (second edition). By Lane W. Lancaster. New York City, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1952. xi, 375 pp. \$3.75.

This valuable volume, first issued in 1937 and now brought down to date, describes all the types of rural government in the United States. It discusses the drifts of recent years as the people of rural areas, losing their isolation, have become less distinguishable from city dwellers and suburbanites, yet retaining an obstinate and curious indifference to many of the principles of political reform.

The differences between rural and urban governmental problems are numerous but seem to be differences of intensity rather than of principle, an unconsciousness of problems characteristic of all small business. About half the counties in this country are constitutionally able to take on our county-manager plan. Seventeen urban counties have done so but practically no rural county (except Petroleum, Montana) has stirred in its sleep. One of the latter might wake up some day and blaze a trail, estab-

lishing its own efficiency and then absorbing, function by function, the one-horse operations of townships, villages and school districts with general consent.

Or are we day-dreaming?

R.S.C.

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**Public Relations for Government Employees: An Action Program.** By Eleanor S. Ruhl. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly, 1952. 32 pages. \$2.00.

This helpful little booklet urges public officials to stress to their subordinates the importance of maintaining good relations with the people they serve day in and day out. Strongly emphasized is the author's justifiable assertion that good public relations must begin with good job performance. The employee who does a good job has a head start in winning public confidence. But he must go beyond that, the author warns. He must be courteous to the people he serves, as well as sensitive to the citizen's reaction to him and to his job.

Although the author admits that "on the whole, government public relations ranges from indifferent to bad," she calls attention to many good jobs that are being done in various parts of the country, projects which other municipalities might well undertake with an excellent chance of success.

Public officials are sure to profit from the first-rate bibliography on public relations techniques, as well as from the selected list of training films designed to help public employees improve their human relations ability.

One of the most lucid definitions of public relations we have seen is in this booklet:

"Many people think public relations is a news release, an annual report, a speech, an employee newsletter. It is. But it is more than that. It is your tone of voice when you answer the telephone; it is the way you write

letters and the way you type them; it is the way you housekeep your office; it is the way you announce examinations; it is how you notify delinquent taxpayers; it is the dependability with which you pick up garbage; it is the neatness of a cop's uniform. Public relations is the effect everything you do has upon your public."

MASON GOULD

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**Neighbor Flap Foot.** The City Planning Frog. By Bill Ewald, Jr., and Merle Henrickson. New York, Henry Schuman, Inc., 1952. 56 pp. illus. \$2.50.

This amusing, skillfully illustrated little book is intended for use in city elementary schools or in the home to teach certain rudiments of city planning.

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**Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress.** By Julius Turner. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. 190 pp. \$2.50.

In this study the author attempts to measure quantitatively the relative effectiveness of pressures on Congress from sources such as metropolitan and rural areas, foreign and native groups, and various "sections." With current statistical techniques, he studies congressional roll calls in four widely separated years. He finds, among other things, that "The pressure of metropolitan and rural districts was numerically much less important than the pressure of party, but arose on some issues of great importance to the country." Also, "the conflicting pressures of north and south were not much more important in determining Democratic behavior than metropolitan-rural or foreign-native pressures. In many respects, north-south pressure was less effective than foreign-native and, of course, was much less effective than party pressure."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD



## Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

### *Child Welfare*

**Future Citizens All.** (Nationwide study of aid to dependent children.) By Gordon W. Blackwell and Raymond F. Gould. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1952. xxix, 181 pp. \$.2.

### *Civic Dictionary*

**Dictionary of Civics and Government.** By Marjorie Tallman. Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes. New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. 291 pp. \$.50.

### *Civil Service*

**Report of the Special Committee on Outside Employment of City Employees.** To City Manager Department. Berkeley, League of California Cities, 1952. 4 pp.

**Employee Suggestion Systems.** By Robert J. Batson. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1952. 7 pp. \$1.00.

### *Council-manager Plan*

**A Model Charter for Cities of Oklahoma** (revised). **Diagram of Council-manager Government.** By Charles F. Spencer. Ada, Oklahoma, 1953. 15 and 1 pp. respectively. (Apply author, East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma.)

### *Democracy*

**Puerto Rico—A Study in Democratic Development.** Edited by Millard Hansen and Henry Wells. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, January 1953. 246 pp. \$.2.

### *Directories*

**County Directory 1953-54.** Listing the County Judges, Commissioners, County Clerks, Engineers, Auditors of Texas. Brownwood, County Judges

and Commissioners Association of Texas, 1953. 44 pp.

**Housing and Redevelopment Directory 1952-53.** Housing and Redevelopment Agencies Statistical Summary. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing Officials, 1952. ix, 227 pp.

### *Ethics*

**Conduct of Judges and Lawyers.** A Study of Professional Ethics, Discipline and Disbarment. By Orie L. Phillips and Philbrick McCoy. (Final Report for the Survey of the Legal Profession under the Auspices of the American Bar Association.) Los Angeles, Parker and Company, 1952. 274 pp.

### *Handbooks*

**Handbook for City Governing Body.** Mayor-Councilman-Commissioner of Cities of the Third Class. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1952. 104 pp. \$.3.

**Handbook for Kansas Public Improvement—City, County, School, Township.** Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, December 1952. 272 pp. \$.20.

### *Immigration*

**United Nations Immigration Control?** By Edwin E. Grant, Lloyd G. Luckmann, and J. C. Russell. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, February 2, 1953 (Part II). 20 pp. 25 cents.

### *International Relations*

**The Economic Situation in Western Europe.** By Marion B. Folsom. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1952. 22 pp.

**Strengthening Our Foreign Policy.** A Report by a Study Group of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 28 pp. 25 cents.

**The Threat to Our National Security.** By James B. Conant. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1952. 12 pp.

### **Liquor Control**

**Sales of Alcoholic Beverages to Minors.** An Official Study by the Joint Committee of the States to Study Alcoholic Beverage Laws. Cleveland 14 and New York 7, The Committee, 1952. 70 pp.

### **Municipal Government**

**Readings in Municipal Government and Administration.** By Charles M. Kneier and Guy Fox. New York 16, Rinehart & Company, 1953. xix, 486 pp. \$3.90.

### **Planning**

**1953 Long-term Capital Improvement Program.** By Maryland State Planning Commission to the Department of Budget and Procurement in Cooperation with Department of Public Improvements. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1952. 129 pp. 50 cents.

**For Tomorrow.** 1951-52 Annual Report. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1952. 38 pp.

### **Political Action**

**How to Keep Our Liberty.** A program for Political Action. By Raymond Moley. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952. xxvii, 245 pp. \$4.00.

### **Taxation and Finance**

**A Comparative Study of the Tax Systems of Iowa and the Surrounding States.** By Robert H. Johnson and Lewis E. Wagner. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1952. xii, 372 pp. \$3.

**Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1952-1953.** New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1952. xxii, 217 pp. Tables, charts.

**Two Decades of Government Expenditures.** Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, October 1952. 8 pp. 25 cents.

**The Vote on 52's Fiscal Issues.** New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review*, November 1952. 6 pp.

**State-local Fiscal Relations.** Baltimore 1, Maryland Commission on Administrative Organization, August 1952. 41 pp.

## **PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION**

(Continued from page 146)

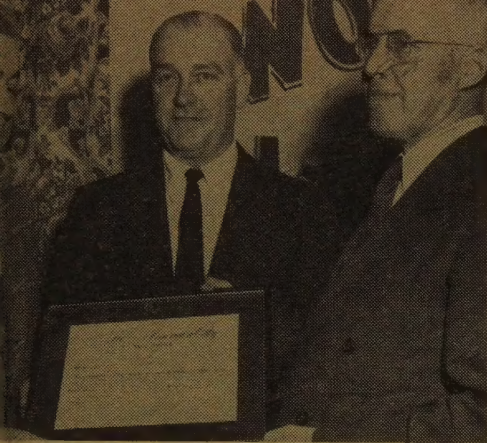
the rest of the chamber voted 339 to 25 in favor of the measure.

The bill inspired misgivings among some of Premier Alcide de Gasperi's governing coalition, according to a report in *Time* magazine of February 2, 1953, which stated that the framing of the bill required three months' work by a committee of two mathematicians and several political scientists. The principal effect of the resulting complex formula is to provide at least 64 per cent of the representation in the Chamber to any political party or association of parties which obtains at least 50 per cent of the popular vote. If no party or association of parties gets 50 per cent of the popular vote, the division of seats would remain proportional.

## **New Denmark Constitution Will Provide P. R.**

As the result of agreement by the major political parties, a new constitution will be submitted to the voters of Denmark for approval on May 28, following a national election on April 21. The proposed constitution would provide a single-house legislature. The use of proportional representation for national elections would be continued and would apply to the new unicameral legislature. Approval by 40 per cent of the voters in the May referendum will be sufficient to warrant affixing of the royal signature on June 5, Denmark's constitution day, provided that the new parliament elected in April re-passes the proposed constitution.





Governor Dennis J. Roberts of Rhode Island, center, looks on as Richard S. Childs, right, presents an All-America Cities award to Mayor Kevin K. Coleman of Woonsocket. Governor Roberts was a leader in the home rule fight in Rhode Island.

(Continued from page 114)

Representative Richard W. Hoffman inserted the portion of the *Look* magazine story dealing with the city in the Congressional Record, as well as his own tribute. Wires were received from Vice President Richard M. Nixon, former Governor Adlai Stevenson, Senator Paul H. Douglas, and others.

Said Martin H. Kennelly, mayor of Chicago: "This significant citation demonstrates the results of voluntary citizen interest and active participation in government in a typically American manner."

Comment of the editor of the *Brookfield Magnet* was: "Nobody, not even society as a whole, can sit down and rest on its laurels, and face the challenge of the future. The home folks here should feel proud of the 1952 All-America award. They should now get out and go forward to new objectives; they lie beyond, but they are not beyond attainment."

**BEMIDJI, MINNESOTA:** Lloyd Hale of Minneapolis, a regional vice president of the League, returned from presenting an All-America Cities award to this northern Minnesota city encouraged by the citizen response.

"I was impressed by seeing first hand how much this award can mean to the leaders of a city," he wrote. "It gave them a project which brought about co-operation of all civic groups and most of the leading citizens. This program should be a great stimulation for interest in civic improvement year after year."

With Mr. Hale was Mrs. Donald Baron, the former Jean James who, as a *Minneapolis Tribune* reporter covering the National Conference on Government in St. Paul five years ago, helped originate the idea of making these annual awards. Mrs. Baron represented *Look* magazine. A dinner at the Elks Club preceded ceremonies at the Bemidji High School auditorium. The Bemidji State Teachers College choral group presented "The Ballad of Paul Bunyan." A special eight-page supplement was printed by the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer*, containing 959 inches of merchants' ads congratulating the city and its citizens. Billboards announcing the award were set up at the city limits. Wires poured in, including messages from Governor C. Elmer Anderson of Minnesota, Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and Edward J. Thye of Minnesota, Mayor Eric G. Hoyer of Minneapolis and Mayor John E. Daubney of St. Paul.

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Congratulating the citizens of Baltimore is Dr. George H. Gallup, who presented the All-America Cities certificate on behalf of the League. Seated, left to right, are Vernon G. Myers, publisher of *Look* magazine, co-sponsor of the awards; G. H. Griffiths of the Ford Foundation; and Clark S. Hobbs of the Baltimore Association of Commerce.





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Bemidji Mayor Harry Pihl summed up local public sentiment by saying: "I think the biggest thing about the award is that it shows when you get the right kind of proposition in Bemidji everybody goes along. I think that now, after this award is made, everybody will understand the necessity of working just as hard to see that both the new charter and the school program are made to work."

**ROANOKE, VIRGINIA:** More than 600 residents of this alert city turned out to see Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and foreman of the All-America Cities jury, present an award on behalf of the League at a dinner in the Hotel Roanoke.

The same citizen participation and interest which helped Roanoke win the award was evident at the ceremonies. The Jefferson High School choir sang. Floral settings were at each table, the work of the Roanoke Council of Garden Clubs. Many folks were reading the 28-page special section, published by *The Roanoke Times*, containing many

articles and pictures describing each of the municipal improvements which led to the award and calling attention to the city as a national market and a retail trading and industrial center. Included in the special section were 3,287 inches of good-will messages paid for by local merchants.

Officials from several of the city's neighboring municipalities were on hand to extend their good wishes, as were Lieutenant Governor A. E. S. Stephens and State Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. Senators Harry F. Byrd and A. Willis Robertson of Virginia wired congratulations.

Dr. Gallup said that Roanoke's already available leadership "went into high gear" in an "amazing wave of civic consciousness." He particularly praised the city's newspapers, the council-manager government, the merchants, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Civitan Club and the garden clubs.

Mayor Roy L. Webber, accepting the award, said: "Our city is blessed with a large number of men and women who devote their time and best thought to the interest of all. A good citizen is the greatest asset a city can have."

This half-block long billboard saluting Roanoke was donated by the General Outdoor Advertising Company. It was one of many citizen projects publicizing the city's All-America rating.

